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Sir Samuel White Baker Pacha

# ISMAILÏA

## A NARRATIVE OF THE EXPEDITION TO CENTRAL AFRICA FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF THE SLAVE TRADE

ORGANIZED BY

**ISMAIL,**

*KHEDIVE OF EGYPT.*

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ac.

BY

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*WITH MAPS, PORTRAITS, AND UPWARDS OF FIFTY FULL-PAGE ILLUSTRATIONS BY ZWECKER AND DURAND.*

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# ISMAILÏA.

## CHAPTER I.

### INTRODUCTORY.

In the present work I shall describe the history of the Khedive of Egypt's expedition, which I have had the honour to command, as the first practical step that has been taken to suppress the slave-trade of Central Africa.

I shall not repeat, beyond what may be absolutely necessary, that which has already been published in my former works on Africa, "The Albert N'yanza" and "The Nile Tributaries of Abyssinia," but I shall adhere to the simple path taken by the expedition. This enterprise is the practical result of my original explorations, in which I had been an eye-witness to the horrors of the slave trade, which I determined, if possible, to suppress.

In my former journey I had traversed countries of extreme fertility in Central Africa, with a healthy climate favourable for the settlement of Europeans, at a mean altitude of 4,000 feet above the sea level. This large and almost boundless extent of country was well peopled by a race who only required the protection of a strong but paternal government to become of considerable importance, and to eventually develop the great resources of the soil.

I found lands varying in natural capabilities according to their position and altitudes—where sugar, cotton, coffee, rice, spices, and all tropical produce might be successfully cultivated; but those lands were without any civilized form of government, and "every man did what seemed right in his own eyes."

In this dislocated state of society, the slave trade prospered to the detriment of all improvement. Rich and well-populated countries were rendered desolate; the women and children were carried into captivity; villages were burnt, and crops were destroyed or pillaged; the population was driven out; a terrestrial paradise was converted into an infernal region; the natives who were originally friendly were rendered hostile to all strangers, and

the general result of the slave trade could only be expressed in one word—"ruin."

The slave hunters and traders who had caused this desolation were for the most part Arabs, subjects of the Egyptian government.

These people had deserted their agricultural occupations in the Soudan and had formed companies of brigands in the pay of various merchants of Khartoum. The largest trader had about 2,500 Arabs in his pay, employed as pirates or brigands, in Central Africa. These men were organized after a rude military fashion, and armed with muskets; they were divided into companies, and were officered in many cases by soldiers who had deserted from their regiments in Egypt or the Soudan.

It is supposed that about 15,000 of the Khedive's subjects who should have been industriously working and paying their taxes in Egypt were engaged in the so-called ivory trade and slave-hunting of the White Nile.

Each trader occupied a special district, where, by a division of his forces in a chain of stations, each of which represented about 300 men, he could exercise a right of possession over a certain amount of assumed territory.

In this manner enormous tracts of country were

occupied by the armed bands from Khartoum, who could make alliances with the native tribes to attack and destroy their neighbours, and to carry off their women and children, together with vast herds of sheep and cattle.

I have already fully described this system in "The Albert N'yanza," therefore it will be unnecessary to enter into minute details in the present work. It will be sufficient, to convey an idea of the extended scale of the slave-hunting operations, to explain that an individual trader named Agād assumed the right over nearly *ninety thousand square miles* of territory. Thus his companies of brigands could pillage at discretion, massacre, take, burn, or destroy throughout this enormous area, or even beyond this broad limit, if they had the power.

It is impossible to know the actual number of slaves taken from Central Africa annually; but I should imagine that at least fifty thousand are positively either captured and held in the various zareebas (or camps) or are sent *viâ* the White Nile and the various routes overland by Darfur and Kordofan. The loss of life attendant upon the capture and subsequent treatment of the slaves is frightful. The result of this forced emigration, com-

bined with the insecurity of life and property, is the withdrawal of the population from the infested districts. The natives have the option of submission to every insult, to the violation of their women and the pillage of their crops, or they must either desert their homes and seek independence in distant districts, or they must ally themselves with their oppressors to assist in the oppression of other tribes. Thus the seeds of anarchy are sown throughout Africa, which fall among tribes naturally prone to anarchy. The result is horrible confusion,—distrust on all sides,—treachery, devastation, and ruin.

This was the state of Central Africa and the White Nile when I was first honoured with the notice of Ismail Pacha, the present Khedive of Egypt.

I had received certain intimations from the Foreign Minister, Nubar Pacha, concerning the Khedive's intentions, a short time previous to an invitation with which I was honoured by his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to accompany their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess during their tour in Egypt.

It is almost needless to add that, upon arrival in Egypt, the Prince of Wales, who represented at

heart the principles of Great Britain, took the warmest interest in the suppression of the slave trade.

The Khedive, thus supported and encouraged in his ideas of reform, concluded his arrangements for the total abolition of the slave trade, not only throughout his dominions, but he determined to attack that moral cancer by actual cautery at the very root of the evil.

I was accordingly requested to draw up a plan for the proposed expedition to Central Africa.

After some slight modifications, I received from the Khedive the following firman:—

"We, Ismail, Khedive of Egypt, considering the savage condition of the tribes which inhabit the Nile Basin;

"Considering that neither government, nor laws, nor security exists in those countries;

"Considering that humanity enforces the suppression of the slave-hunters who occupy those countries in great numbers;

"Considering that the establishment of legitimate commerce throughout those countries will be a great stride towards future civilization, and will result in the opening to steam navigation of the great equatorial lakes of Central Africa, and in the

establishing a permanent government . . . . We have decreed and now decree as follows :—

"An expedition is organized to subdue to our authority the countries situated to the south of Gondokoro ;

"To suppress the slave trade; to introduce a system of regular commerce;

"To open to navigation the great lakes of the equator ;

"And to establish a chain of military stations and commercial depots, distant at intervals of three days' march, throughout Central Africa, accepting Gondokoro as the base of operations.

"The supreme command of this expedition is confided to Sir Samuel White Baker, for four years, commencing from 1st April, 1869 ; to whom also we confer the most absolute and supreme power, even that of death, over all those who may compose the expedition.

"We confer upon him the same absolute and supreme authority over all those countries belonging to the Nile Basin south of Gondokoro."

It was thus that the Khedive determined at the risk of his popularity among his own subjects to strike a direct blow at the slave trade in its distant nest. To insure the fulfilment of this difficult en-

terprise, he selected an Englishman, armed with a despotic power such as had never been intrusted by a Mohammedan to a Christian.

The slave trade was to be suppressed; legitimate commerce was to be introduced, and protection was to be afforded to the natives by the establishment of a government.

The suppression of the slave trade was a compliment to the European Powers which would denote the superiority of Egypt, and would lay the first stone in the foundation of a new civilization; and a population that was rapidly disappearing would be saved to Africa.

To effect this grand reform it would be necessary to annex the Nile Basin, and to establish a government in countries that had been hitherto without protection, and a prey to the adventurers from the Soudan. To convey steel steamers from England, and to launch them upon the Albert Lake, and thus open the resources of Central Africa; to establish legitimate trade in a vast country which had hitherto been a field of rapine and of murder; to protect the weak and to punish the evil-doer, and to open the road to a great future, where the past had been all darkness and the present reckless spoliation — this was the grand object

which Ismail, the Khedive of Egypt, determined to accomplish.

In this humane enterprise he was firmly supported by his two Ministers, Nubar Pacha and Cherif Pacha (an Armenian and a Circassian). The young princes his sons, who are well-educated and enlightened men, took the greatest interest in the undertaking; but beyond these and a few others, the object of the expedition was regarded with ill-concealed disgust.

Having received full powers from the Khedive, I gave orders for the following vessels to be built of steel by Messrs. Samuda Brothers:—

No. 1. A paddle steamer of 251 tons, 32-horse power.
No. 2. A twin screw high-pressure steamer of 20-horse power, 108 tons.
No. 3. A twin screw high-pressure steamer of 10-horse power, 38 tons.
Nos. 4, 5. Two steel lifeboats, each 30 ft. by 9 = 10 tons each.

These vessels were fitted with engines of the best construction by Messrs. Penn & Co., and were to be carried across the Nubian desert in plates and sections.

In addition to the steamers were steam saw mills, with a boiler that weighed 8 cwt. in one piece—all of which would have to be transported by camels

for several hundred miles across the Nubian desert, and by boats and camels alternately from Alexandria to Gondokoro, a distance of about *three thousand miles.*

In the description of this enterprise, which terminated in the suppression of the slave trade of the White Nile and the annexation of a large equatorial territory to Egypt, I shall be compelled to expose many abuses which were the result of misgovernment in the distant provinces of Upper Egypt. It must be distinctly understood that his Highness the Khedive was ignorant of such abuses, and that he took prompt and vigorous measures to reform the administration of the Soudan immediately upon receiving information of the misgovernment of that extensive territory. Throughout the expedition his Highness has exhibited a determination to succeed in the suppression of the slave trade in spite of the adverse opinion of the public,—therefore, when I expose the abuses that existed, it must be accepted without hesitation that the Khedive would have been the foremost in punishing the authors and in rectifying such abuses had he been aware of their existence.

As a duty to the Khedive, and in justice to myself, I shall describe the principal incidents as they

occurred throughout the expedition. The civilized world will form both judge and jury: if their verdict be favourable, I shall have my reward. I can only assure my fellow-men that I have sought earnestly the guidance of the Almighty in the use of the great power committed to me, and I trust that I have been permitted to lay a firm foundation for a good work hereafter.

## CHAPTER II.

### ENGLISH PARTY.

THE success of an expedition depends mainly upon organization. From my former experience in Central Africa, I knew exactly the requirements of the natives, and all the material that would be necessary for the enterprise. I also knew that the old adage of "out of sight out of mind" might be adopted as the Egyptian motto, therefore it would be indispensable to supply myself with everything at the outset, so as to be independent of support hereafter.

The English party consisted of myself and Lady Baker; Lieutenant Julian Alleyne Baker, R.N.; Mr. Edwin Higginbotham, civil engineer; Mr. Wood, secretary; Dr. Joseph Gedge, physician; Mr. Marcopolo, chief storekeeper and interpreter; Mr. McWilliam, chief engineer of steamers; Mr. Jarvis, chief shipwright: together with Messrs.

LIEUT. JULIAN ALLEYNE BAKER, R.N.

MR. EDWIN HIGGINBOTHAM, Engineer-in-Chief of the Expedition.

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Whitfield, Samson, Hitchman, and Ramsall, shipwrights, boiler-makers, &c. In addition to the above were two servants.

I laid in stores sufficient to last the European party four years.

I provided four galvanized iron magazines, each eighty feet long by twenty in width, to protect all material.

Before I left England I personally selected every article that was necessary for the expedition; thus an expenditure of about £9,000 was sufficient for the purchase of the almost innumerable items that formed the outfit for the enterprise. This included an admirable selection of Manchester goods, such as cotton sheeting, grey calico, cotton, and also woollen blankets, white, scarlet, and blue; Indian scarfs, red and yellow; handkerchiefs of gaudy colours, chintz printed; scarlet flannel shirts, serge of colours (blue, red), linen trowsers, &c., &c.

Tools of all sorts—axes, small hatchets, harness bells, brass rods, copper rods, combs, zinc mirrors, knives, crockery, tin plates, fish-hooks, musical boxes, coloured prints, finger-rings, razors, tinned spoons, cheap watches, &c., &c.

All these things were purchased through Messrs. Silber & Fleming, of Wood Street, Cheapside.

I thus had sufficient clothing for a considerable body of troops if necessary, while the magazines could produce anything from a needle to a crowbar, or from a handkerchief to a boat's sail. It will be seen hereafter that these careful arrangements assured the success of the expedition, as the troops, when left without pay, could procure all they required from the apparently inexhaustible stores of the magazines.

In addition to the merchandize and general supplies, I had several large musical boxes with bells and drums, an excellent magic lantern, a magnetic battery, wheels of life, and an assortment of toys. The greatest wonder to the natives were two large girandoles; also the silvered balls, about six inches in diameter, that, suspended from the branch of a tree, reflected the scene beneath.

In every expedition the principal difficulty is the transport.

"Travel light, if possible," is the best advice for all countries; but in this instance it was simply impossible, as the object of the expedition was not only to convey steamers to Central Africa, but to establish legitimate trade in the place of the nefarious system of pillage hitherto adopted by the so-called White Nile traders. It was there-

fore absolutely necessary to possess a large stock of goods of all kinds, in addition to the machinery and steel sections of steamers.

I arranged that the expedition should start in three divisions.

Six steamers, varying from 40 to 80-horse power, were ordered to leave Cairo in June, together with fifteen sloops and fifteen diahbeeahs—total, thirty-six vessels—to ascend the cataracts of the Nile to Khartoum, a distance by river of about 1,450 miles. These vessels were to convey the whole of the merchandize.

Twenty-five vessels were ordered to be in readiness at Khartoum, together with three steamers. The governor-general (Djiaffer Pacha) was to provide these vessels by a certain date, together with the camels and horses necessary for the land transport.

Thus when the fleet should arrive at Khartoum from Cairo, the total force of vessels would be nine steamers and fifty-five sailing vessels, the latter averaging about fifty tons each.

Mr. Higginbotham had the command of the desert transport from Korosko to Khartoum, and to that admirable officer I intrusted the charge of the steamer sections and machinery, together with

the command of the English engineers and mechanics.

I arranged to bring up the rear by another route, *viâ* Souakim on the Red Sea, from which the desert journey to Berber, on the Nile, N. lat. 17° 37′, is 275 statute miles.

My reason for this division of routes was to insure a quick supply of camels, as much delay would have been occasioned had the great mass of transport been conveyed by one road.

The military arrangements comprised a force of 1,645 troops, including a corps of 200 irregular cavalry, and two batteries of artillery. The infantry were two regiments, supposed to be well selected. The black, or Soudani, regiment included many officers and men who had served for some years in Mexico with the French army under Marshal Bazaine. The Egyptian regiment turned out to be for the most part convicted felons who had been transported for various crimes from Egypt to the Soudan.

The artillery were rifled mountain guns of bronze, the barrel weighing 230 lbs., and throwing shells of 8¼ lbs. The authorities at Woolwich had kindly supplied the expedition with 200 Hale's rockets—three-pounders—and fifty snider rifles, to-

gether with 50,000 rounds of snider ammunition. The military force and supplies were to be massed in Khartoum ready to meet me upon my arrival.

I had taken extra precautions in the packing of ammunition and all perishable goods. The teak boxes for snider ammunition, also the boxes of Hale's rockets, were lined and hermetically sealed with soldered tin. The light Manchester goods and smaller articles were packed in strong, useful, painted tin boxes, with locks and hinges, &c. Each box was numbered, and when the lid was opened, a tin plate was soldered over the open face, so that the lid, when closed, locked above an hermetically sealed case. Each tin box was packed in a deal case, with a number to correspond with the box within.

By this arrangement the tin boxes arrived at their destination as good as new, and were quite invaluable for travelling, as they each formed a handy load, and were alike proof against the attacks of insects and bad weather.

I had long waterproof cloaks for the night sentries in rainy climates, and sou'-wester caps; these proved of great service during active operations in the wet season, as the rifles were kept dry

under the cloaks, and the men were protected from wet and cold when on guard.

All medicines and drugs were procured from Apothecaries' Hall, and were accordingly of the best quality.

The provisions for the troops were dhurra (*sorghum vulgare*), wheat, rice, and lentils. The supplies from England, and in fact the general arrangements, had been so carefully attended to, that throughout the expedition I could not feel a want, neither could I either regret or wish to have changed any plan that I had originally determined.

For the transport of the heavy machinery across the desert I employed gun-carriages drawn by two camels each. The steel sections of steamers and of lifeboats were slung upon long poles of fir from Trieste, arranged between two camels in the manner of shafts. Many hundred poles served this purpose, and subsequently were used at head-quarters as rafters for magazines and various buildings.

The No. 1 steamer of 250 tons had not arrived from England. I therefore left instructions that she was to be forwarded acorss the desert upon the same principles as adopted for the transport of the other vessels.

I had thrown my whole heart into the expedition; but I quickly perceived the difficulties that I should have to contend with in the passive resistance of those whose interests would be affected by the suppression of the slave trade. The arrangements that I had made would have insured success, if carried out according to the dates specified. The six steamers and the sailing flotilla from Cairo should have started on 10th June, in order to have ascended the cataracts of Wady Halfah at the period of high water. Instead of this, the vessels were delayed, in the absence of the Khedive in Europe, until 29th August; thus, by the time they reached the second cataract, the river had fallen, and it was impossible to drag the steamers through the passage until the next season. Thus twelve months were wasted, and I was at once deprived of the invaluable aid of six steamers.

In addition to this difficulty was the fact of inevitable delay necessitated by the festivities attending the opening of the Suez Canal. The Khedive, with his accustomed hospitality, had made immense preparations for the reception of visitors, and every available vessel had been prepared for the occasion.

A train of forty-one railway waggons laden with sections of steamers, machinery, boiler sections, &c., &c., arrived at Cairo, and were embarked on board eleven hired vessels. With the greatest difficulty I procured a steamer of 140-horse power to tow this flotilla to Korosko, from which spot the desert journey would commence. I obtained this steamer only by personal application to the Khedive.

At length I witnessed the start of the entire English party of engineers and mechanics, together with Mr. Higginbotham and Dr. J. Gedge. The steamer *Minieh* towed the long line of eleven vessels against the powerful stream of the Nile. One of the tow-ropes snapped at the commencement of the voyage, which created some confusion, but when righted, they quickly steamed out of view. This mass of heavy material, including two steamers, and two steel lifeboats of ten tons each, was to be transported for a distance of about 3,000 miles, 400 of which would be across the scorching Nubian deserts!

The first division of the heavy baggage had started on 29th August, 1869, with the sloops, to ascend the cataracts direct by river to Khartoum. I dared not trust any portions of the steamers by

this dangerous route, lest by the loss of one vessel with sections I might destroy all hope of success.

It was a relief to have started the main branches of the expedition, after the various delays that had already seriously endangered the chances of the White Nile voyage. For that river all vessels should start from Khartoum early in November.

On 5th December, 1869, we brought up the rear, and left Suez on board an Egyptian sloop of war, the *Senaar*. In four days and a half we reached Souakim, after an escape from wreck on the reef of Shadwan, and a close acquaintance with a large barque, with which we nearly came into collision.

The captain of our sloop was a most respectable man, apparently about eighty years of age. The first lieutenant appeared to be somewhat his senior, and neither could see, even with the assistance of a very greasy and dirty binocular. The various officers appeared to be vestiges from Noah's ark in point of antiquity; thus a close shave with a reef and a near rub with a strange vessel were little incidents that might be expected in the Red Sea.

We anchored safely in the harbour of Souakim, and landed my twenty-one horses without accident.

I was met by the governor, my old friend Moomtazz Bey, a highly intelligent Circassian

officer, who had shown me much kindness on my former expedition.

A week's delay in Souakim was necessary to obtain camels. In fourteen days we crossed the desert 275 miles to Berber on the Nile, and found a steamer and diahbeeah in readiness. We arrived at Khartoum, a distance of 200 miles by river, in three days, having accomplished the voyage from Suez in the short space of thirty-two days, including stoppages.

Khartoum was not changed externally; but I had observed with dismay a frightful change in the features of the country between Berber and the capital since my former visit. The rich soil on the banks of the river, which had a few years since been highly cultivated, had been abandoned. Now and then a tuft of neglected date-palms might be seen, but the river's banks, formerly verdant with heavy crops, had become a wilderness. Villages once crowded had entirely disappeared; the population was gone. Irrigation had ceased. The night, formerly discordant with the creaking of countless water-wheels, was now silent as death. There was not a dog to howl for a lost master. Industry had vanished; oppression had driven the inhabitants from the soil.

This terrible desolation was caused by the governor-general of the Soudan, who, although himself an honest man, trusted too much to the honesty of others, who preyed upon the inhabitants. As a good and true Mohammedan, he left his territory to the sole care of God, and thus, trusting in Providence, he simply increased the taxes. In one year he sent to the Khedive his master £100,000 in hard dollars, wrung from the poor peasantry, who must have lost an equal amount in the pillage that accompanies the collection.

The population of the richest province of the Soudan fled from oppression, and abandoned the country; and the greater portion betook themselves to the slave trade of the White Nile, where, in their turn, they might trample upon the rights of others; where, as they had been plundered, they would be able to plunder; where they could reap the harvest of another's labour; and where, free from the restrictions of a government, they might indulge in the exciting and lucrative enterprise of slave-hunting. Thousands had forsaken their homes, and commenced a life of brigandage on the White Nile.

This was the state of the country when I arrived at Khartoum. The population of this

town, which was about 30,000 during my former visit, was now reduced to half the number. The European residents had all disappeared, with the exception of the Austrian Mission and Mr. Hansall, the Austrian Consul; also an extremely tough German tailor, who was proof against the climate that had carried off his companions.

I had given the necessary orders for vessels and supplies six months previous; thus, I naturally expected to find a fleet ready for departure, with the troops and stores waiting for orders. To my surprise, I discovered that my instructions had been so far neglected, that although the troops were at hand, there were no vessels prepared for transport. I was coolly informed by the governor-general, that "it was impossible to procure the number of vessels required, therefore he had purchased a house for me, as he expected that I should remain that year at Khartoum, and start in the following season."

There literally was not one vessel ready for the voyage, in spite of the positive instructions that had been given. At the same time I found that the governor-general had just prepared a squadron of eleven vessels, with several companies of regular troops, for an expedition to the Bahr Gazal, where

it was intended to form a settlement at the copper-mines on the frontier of Darfur. This expedition had been placed under the command of one of the most notorious ruffians and slave-hunters of the White Nile. This man, Kutchuk Ali, originally of low extraction, had made a fortune in his abominable traffic, and had accordingly received promotion from the governor; thus, at the same time that the Khedive of Egypt had employed me to suppress the slave trade of the Nile, a government expedition had been intrusted to the command of one of the most notorious slave-hunters.

I at once perceived that not only was my expedition unpopular, but that it would be seriously opposed by all parties. The troops had been quartered for some months at Khartoum;—during this time the officers had been intimate with the principal slave-traders of the country. All were Mohammedans—thus a coalition would be natural against a Christian who commanded an expedition avowedly to annihilate the slave trade upon which Khartoum subsisted.

It was a "house divided against itself;" the Khedive in the north issued orders that would be neutralized in the distant south by his own authorities.

As in the United States of America the opinion of the South upon the question of emancipation was opposed to that of the North,—the opposition in the Soudan was openly avowed to the reform believed to have been suggested to the Khedive by England.

The season was already far advanced. There is no weapon so fatal as delay in the hands of Egyptians. I knew the intentions of the authorities were to procrastinate until the departure of the expedition would become impossible. It was necessary to insist upon the immediate purchase of vessels which should have been prepared months before.

None of the steamers from Cairo had passed the cataracts. The fifteen large sloops upon which I had depended for the transport of camels had actually given up the attempt and returned to Cairo. Only the smaller vessels had mounted the cataracts, and they could not arrive at Khartoum for some months.

The first division, consisting of all merchandize that I had sent from Cairo, had arrived in Khartoum under the charge of a Syrian to whom I had given the command. I heard that Mr. Higginbotham, accompanied by Dr. Gedge and the English party,

THE CAMEL TRANSPORT OF STEAMERS AND MACHINERY. Vol. i. p. 27.

together with all the Egyptian mechanics, was on his way across the desert in charge of the steamers and machinery, carried by some thousand camels. The third division, brought up by Mr. Marcopolo, arrived from Souakim a few days later than ourselves thus every arrangement that had been intrusted to my own officers was well executed.

After some pressure, the governor began to purchase the vessels. It may be imagined that a sudden necessity gave a welcome opportunity to certain officials. Old vessels were purchased at the price of new, and the government agent received a bribe from the owners to pass the vessels on survey. We were now fitting out under difficulties, and working at a task that should have been accomplished months since. Sailcloth was scarce; hempen ropes were rarities in Khartoum, where the wretched cordage was usually obtained from the leaves of the date-palm. The highest prices were paid for everything; thus a prearranged delay caused an immense expense for the expedition. I studiously avoided any purchases personally, but simply gave the necessary instructions to be executed by the governor. It is only fair to admit that he now worked hard, and took great interest in the outfit of the flotilla. This governor-general, Djiaffer

Pacha, had formerly shown me much kindness on my arrival at Souakim, during my first journey in Africa. I had therefore reckoned upon him as a friend; but no personal considerations could palliate the secret hatred to the object of the expedition.

From morning till night I was occupied in pushing on the work; in this I was ably assisted by Lieutenant J. A. Baker, R.N., whose professional experience was of much service. A new spirit seemed to move in Khartoum; hundreds of men were at work; a row of masts and yards rose up before the government house; and in a few weeks we had thirty-three vessels of fifty or sixty tons each, caulked, rigged, and ready for the voyage of 1,450 miles to Gondokoro.

If the same energy had been shown some months ago, I should have found a fleet of fifty ships awaiting me. I had lost a month at Khartoum at a season when every day was precious.

I reviewed the troops, about 1,400 infantry, and two batteries of artillery. The men were in fine condition, but I had no means of transport for the entire force. I therefore instructed Djiaffer Pacha to continue his exertions in preparing vessels, so that on Mr. Higginbotham's arrival he might follow with the remaining detachment.

I reviewed the irregular cavalry, about 250 horse. These were certainly *very* irregular. Each man was horsed and armed according to his individual notion of a trooper's requirements. There were lank, half-starved horses; round short horses; very small ponies; horses that were all legs; others that were all heads; horses that had been groomed; horses that had never gone through that operation. The saddles and bridles were only fit for an old curiosity shop. There were some with faded strips of gold and silver lace adhering here and there; others that resembled the horse in skeleton appearance, which had been strengthened by strips of raw crocodile skin. The unseemly huge shovel-stirrups were rusty; the bits were filthy. Some of the men had swords and pistols; others had short blunderbusses with brass barrels; many had guns of various patterns, from the long old-fashioned Arab to the commonest double-barrelled French gun that was imported. The costumes varied in a like manner to the arms and animals.

Having formed in line, they now executed a brilliant charge at a supposed enemy, and performed many feats of valour; and having quickly got into inconceivable confusion, they at length rallied and returned to their original position.

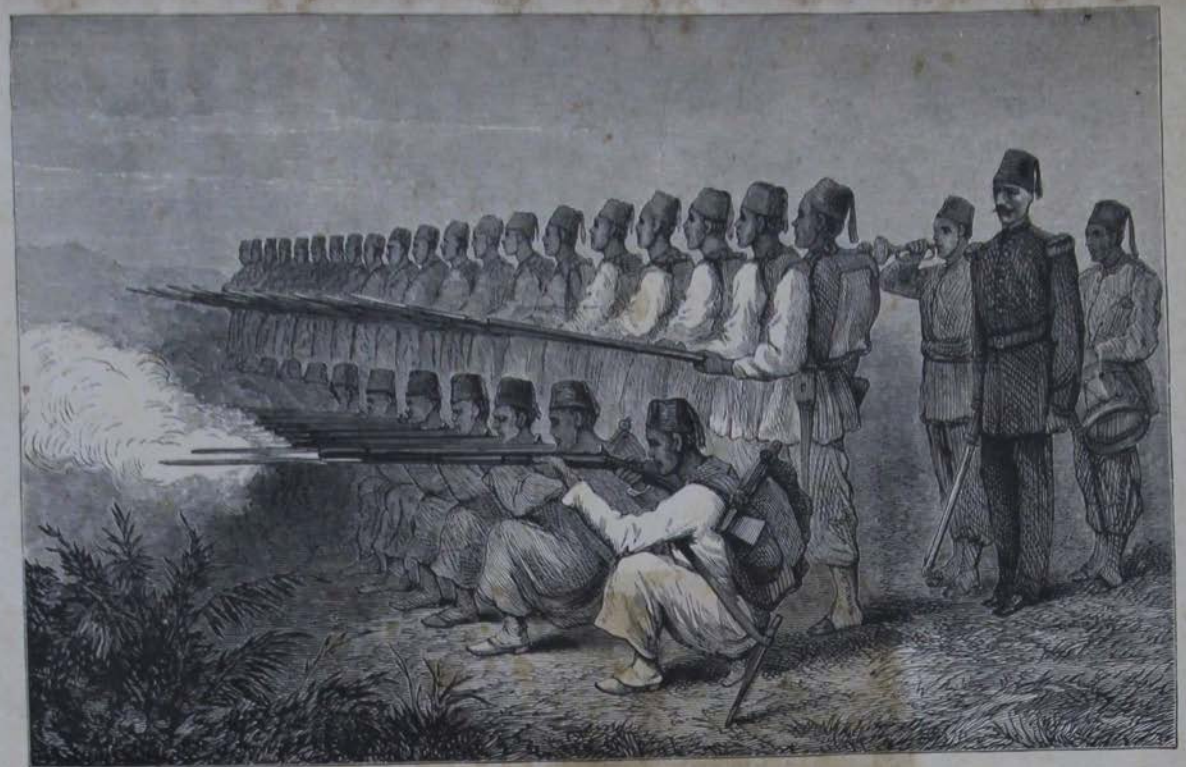
I complimented their officer;—and having asked Djiaffer Pacha if these brave troops represented my cavalry force, and being assured of the fact, I dismissed them; and requested Djiaffer Pacha to inform them that "I regretted the want of transport would not permit me the advantage of their services. 'Inshallah!' (Please God!) at some future time," &c., &c.

I thus got rid of my cavalry, which I never wished to see again. I had twenty-one good horses that I had brought from Cairo, and these together with the horses belonging to the various officers were as much as we could convey.

The flotilla was ready for the voyage. We had engaged sailors with the greatest difficulty, as a general stampede of boatmen had taken place. Every one ran from Khartoum to avoid the expedition.

This was a dodge of the slave-traders, who had incited the people to escape from any connection with such an enterprise. It was supposed that without boatmen we should be unable to start.

The police authorities were employed, and by degrees the necessary crews were secured,—all unwilling, and composed of the worst material.



"THE FORTY THIEVES," COMMANDED BY LIEUT.-COLONEL ABD-EL-KADER.

The "Forty Thieves" were a picked corps armed with snider rifles, comprising forty-eight men including officers. They were named the "Forty *Thieves*" by the [illegible] of the expedition on account of their thieving propensities, but they eventually became the perfection of morality, and formed the trust-

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DEPARTURE FROM KHARTOUM.

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Six months' rations were on board for all hands, in addition to the general stores of corn, and cases, bales, &c., innumerable. Forty-six men had been selected from the two regiments, forming a fine corps as body-guard of equal numbers black and white. I armed them with snider rifles. They were commanded by my aides-de-camp, Lieutenant-Colonel Abd-el-Kader and by Captain Mohammed Deii.[1]

On the 8th February, 1870, the bugles announced the departure. The troops hurried on board their respective transports according to the numbers painted on their sides and sails. The official parting was accomplished. I had had to embrace the governor, then a black pacha, a *rara avis in terris,* and a whole host of beys, concluding the affecting ceremony with a very fat colonel whom my arms could not properly encircle.

A couple of battalions lined the shore; the guns fired the usual salute as we started on our voyage; the flotilla, composed of two steamers, respectively of thirty-two and twenty-four horse-power, and thirty-one sailing vessels, with a military force of about 800 men, got away in tolerable order. The powerful current of the Blue Nile quickly swept us past

[1] This corps was named the "Forty Thieves," owing to the light-fingered character of the men; but eventually they became a model of morality.

Khartoum, and having rounded the point, we steamed up the grand White Nile. The wind blew very strong from the north, thus the entire fleet kept pace with the steamers, one of which was towing my diahbeeah, and the other that of the colonel, Raouf Bey. Thank God we were off—with a fine breeze; thus all intrigues were left behind, and the future would be under my own command.

On reference to my journal, I find the following entry upon 8th February, 1870:—

"Mr. Higginbotham, who has safely arrived at Berber with the steel steamers in sections for the Albert N'yanza, will, I trust, be provided with vessels at Khartoum, according to my orders, so as to follow me to Gondokoro with supplies, and about 350 troops with four guns.

"My original programme—agreed to by his Highness the Khedive, who ordered the execution of my orders by the authorities—arranged that six steamers, fifteen sloops, and fifteen diahbeeahs, should leave Cairo on 10th June, to ascend the cataracts to Khartoum, at which place Djiaffer Pacha was to prepare three steamers and twenty-five vessels to convey 1,650 troops, together with transport animals and supplies.

"The usual Egyptian delays have entirely thwarted

my plans. No vessels have arrived from Cairo, as they only started on 29th August. Thus, rather than turn back, I start with a mutilated expedition, without *a single transport animal.*"

Having minutely described the White Nile in a former work, "The Albert N'yanza," I shall not repeat the description. In 103 hours and ten minutes' steaming we reached Fashoda, the government station in the Shillook country, N. lat. 9° 52′, 618 miles by river from Khartoum.

This town had been fortified by a wall and flanking towers since I had last visited the White Nile, and it was garrisoned by a regiment of Egyptian soldiers. Ali Bey, the governor, was a remarkably handsome old man, a Kurd. He assured me that the Shillook country was in excellent order; and that according to the instructions received from the Khedive he had exerted himself against the slave trade, so that it was impossible for vessels to pass the station.

Fashoda was well situated for this purpose, as it completely dominated the river; but I much doubted my friend's veracity.

Having taken on board a month's rations for all hands, we started; and, with a strong breeze in our

favour, we reached the Sobat junction on 16th February, at 12.30 P.M.

There we took in fresh water, as that of the Sobat is superior to the White Nile. At this season the river was about eight feet below the level of the bank. The water of the Sobat is yellowish, and it colours that of the White Nile for a great distance. By dead reckoning I made the Sobat junction 684 miles by river from Khartoum.

When I saw the Sobat, in the first week of January 1863, it was bank-full. The current is very powerful, and when I sounded in various places during my former voyage, I found a depth of twenty-six to twenty-eight feet. The volume of water brought to the Nile by this river is immense, and the power of the stream is so superior to that of the White Nile, that as it arrives at right angles, the waters of the Nile are banked up. The yellow water of the Sobat forms a distinct line as it cuts through the clear water of the main river, and the floating rafts of vegetation brought down by the White Nile, instead of continuing their voyage, are headed back, and remain helplessly in the backwater. The sources of the Sobat are still a mystery; but there can be no doubt that the principal volume must be water of mountain origin, as it is coloured

by earthy matter, and is quite unlike the marsh water of the White Nile. The expeditions of the slave-hunters have ascended the river as far as it is navigable. At that point seven different streams converge into one channel, which forms the great river Sobat. It is my opinion that some of these streams are torrents from the Galla country, while others are the continuation of those southern rivers which have lately been crossed by the slave-hunters between the second and third degrees of N. latitude.

The White Nile is a grand river between the Sobat junction and Khartoum, and after passing to the south of the great affluent the difference in the character is quickly perceived. We now enter upon the region of immense flats and boundless marshes, through which the river winds in a labyrinth-like course for about 750 miles to Gondokoro.

Having left the Sobat, we arrived at the junction of the Bahr Giraffe, thirty-eight miles distant, at 11 A.M. on 17th February. Having turned into the river, I waited for the arrival of the fleet.

The Bahr Giraffe was to be our new passage instead of the original White Nile. That river, which had become so curiously obstructed by masses of vegetation that had formed a solid dam, already described by me in "The Albert N'yanza," had been

entirely neglected by the Egyptian authorities. In consequence of this neglect an extraordinary change had taken place. The immense number of floating islands which are constantly passing down the stream of the White Nile had no exit, thus they were sucked under the original obstruction by the force of the stream, which passed through some mysterious channel, until the subterranean passage became choked with a wondrous accumulation of vegetable matter. The entire river became a marsh, beneath which, by the great pressure of water, the stream oozed through innumerable small channels. In fact, the White Nile had disappeared. A vessel arriving from Khartoum in her passage to Gondokoro would find, after passing through a broad river of clear water, that her bow would suddenly strike against a bank of solid compressed vegetation—this was the natural dam that had been formed to an unknown extent: the river ceased to exist.

It may readily be imagined that a dense spongy mass which completely closed the river would act as a filter: thus, as the water charged with muddy particles arrived at the dam where the stream was suddenly checked, it would deposit all impurities as it oozed and percolated slowly through the tangled but compressed mass of vege-

tation. This deposit quickly created mud-banks and shoals, which effectually blocked the original bed of the river. The reedy vegetation of the country immediately took root upon these favourable conditions, and the rapid effect in a tropical climate may be imagined. That which had been the river bed was converted into a solid marsh.

This terrible accumulation had been increasing for five or six years, therefore it was impossible to ascertain or even to speculate upon the distance to which it might extend. The slave-traders had been obliged to seek another route, which they had found *viâ* the Bahr Giraffe, which river had proved to be merely a branch of the White Nile, as I had suggested in my former work, and not an independent river.

I was rather anxious about this new route, as I had heard conflicting accounts in Khartoum concerning the possibility of navigating such large vessels as the steamers of thirty-two horse-power and a hundred feet length of deck. I was provided with guides who professed to be thoroughly acquainted with the river; these people were captains of trading vessels, who had made the voyage frequently.

On 18th February, at 10 A.M., the rear vessels of the fleet arrived, and at 11.40 A.M. the steamers

worked up against the strong current independently. Towing was difficult, owing to the sharp turns of the river. The Bahr Giraffe was about seventy yards in width, and at this season the banks were high and dry. Throughout the voyage on the White Nile we had had excellent wild-fowl shooting whenever we had halted to cut fuel for the steamers. One afternoon I killed a hippopotamus, two crocodiles, and two pelicans, with the rifle. At the mouth of the Bahr Giraffe I bagged twenty-two ducks at a right and left shot with a No. 10-shot gun.

As the fleet now slowly sailed against the strong current of the Bahr Giraffe, I walked along the bank with Lieutenant Baker, and shot ten of the large francolin partridge, which, in this dry season, were very numerous. The country was as usual flat, but, bearing due south of the Bahr Giraffe junction, about twelve miles distant, is a low granite hill, partially covered with trees; this is the first of four similar low hills that are the only rising points above the vast prairie of flat plain.

As we were walking along the bank I perceived an animal ascending from the river, about two hundred yards distant, where it had evidently been drinking: we immediately endeavoured to cut off

its retreat, when it suddenly emerged from the grass and discovered a fine lion with large shaggy mane. The king of beasts, as usual, would not stand to show fight in the open, but bounded off in the direction of the rocky hills.

It will be necessary to give a few extracts from my journal to convey an exact idea of the Bahr Giraffe. The river was very deep, averaging about nineteen feet, and it flowed in a winding course, through a perfectly flat country of prairie, diversified with forest—all of which, although now dry, had the appearance of being flooded during the rainy season:—

"*February* 23.—Steamed from 6 A.M. till 7 P.M. Vast treeless marshes in wet season—now teeming with waterfowl: say fifty miles accomplished to-day through the ever-winding river. The wood from the last forest is inferior, and we have only sufficient fuel for five hours left upon the steamer. The diahbeeah in tow carries about twenty hours' fuel: thus, should we not arrive at some forest in twenty-five hours, we shall be helpless.

"The river was exceedingly narrow about fifteen miles from our starting point this morning. The stream was strong but deep, flowing through the usual tangled grass, but divided into numerous

small channels and backwaters that render the navigation difficult.

"In this spot the river is quite bank-full, and the scattered native villages in the distance are in swamps. The innumerable high white ant-hills are the only dry spots.

"*February* 24.—Started at 6 A.M. Everybody eaten up by mosquitoes. At 9 A.M. the steamer smashed her starboard paddle: the whole day occupied in repairing. Saw a bull elephant in the marshes at a distance. Horrible treeless swamps swarming with mosquitoes.

"*February* 25.—Started at 7 A.M. At 10 A.M. arrived at a very narrow and shallow portion of this chaotic river completely choked by drift vegetation. All hands worked hard to clear a passage through this obstruction until 2.30, when we passed ahead. At 4 P.M. we arrived at a similar obstacle; the water very shallow; and to-morrow we shall have to cut a passage through the high grass, beneath which there is deeper water. I ordered fifty swords to be sharpened for the work. We counted seventy elephants in the distance, but there is no possibility of reaching them through the immense area of floating vegetation.

"*February* 26.—Hard at work with forty men

cutting a canal about 150 yards long through the dense mass of compressed vegetation.

"*February* 27.—Working hard at canal. The fleet has not arrived; thus we are short-handed.

"*February* 28.—The canal progresses, the men having worked well. It is a curious collection of trash that seriously impedes navigation. The grass resembles sugar-canes; this grows from twenty to thirty feet in length, and throws out roots at every joint: thus, when matted together, its roots still increase, and render the mass a complete tangle. During the wet season the rush of water tears off large rafts of this floating water-grass, which accumulate in any favourable locality. The difficulty of clearing a passage is extreme. After cutting out a large mass with swords, a rope is made fast, and the raft is towed out by hauling with thirty or forty men until it is detached and floated down the stream. Yesterday I cut a narrow channel from above stream in the hope that the rush of water would loosen the mass of vegetation. After much labour, at 12.30 P.M. the whole obstruction appeared to heave. There was soon no doubt that it was moving, and suddenly the entire dam broke up. Immense masses were carried away by the rush of water and floated down the river;

these will, I fear, cause an obstruction lower down the stream.

"We got up steam, served out grog to all the men, and started at 2 P.M. In half-an-hour's steaming we arrived at another block of vegetation. In one hour and three-quarters we cleared a passage, and almost immediately afterwards we arrived at the first piece of dry ground that we have seen for days. This piece of firm land was a few feet higher than the maximum rise of the river, and afforded about half an acre. We stopped for the night.

"*March* 1.—Started at 6.30 A.M., the river narrowing immediately, and after a run of half a mile we found ourselves caught in a trap. The river, although fourteen feet deep, had entirely disappeared in a boundless sea of high grass, which resembled sugar-canes. There was no possibility of progress. I returned to our halting-place of last night in a small rowing-boat, and examined it thoroughly. I found marks of occupation by the slave-traders, about three months old. Among the vestiges were the remains of fires, a piece of a lucifer-match box, a number of cartridge cases—they had been fired—and a piece of raw hide pierced with bullets, that had evidently been used as a target.

"I shot two geese and five plover, and returned to our vessel. My opinion is that the slave-hunters have made a razzia inland from this spot, but that our guide, Bedawi, has led us into a wrong channel.

"I attempted to seek a passage ahead, but it was quite impossible for the smallest rowing boat to penetrate the dense vegetation.

"An advance being impossible, I ordered the steamer and two diahbeeahs to return down the river about eighty miles to our old wooding-place at the last forest, as we are nearly out of fuel. We thus lose time and trouble, but there is no help for it. For some days there has been no wind, except uncertain breaths from the south. Unless a change shall take place, I have no idea how the fleet will be able to come up against the stream.

"*March* 2.—At 6.30 A.M. we got under way and ran down stream at eight miles an hour towards our old wooding-place. Saw a few buffaloes. At 1 P.M. we passed on left bank a branch of the river. At 3.30 sighted the tall yards of the fleet in the distance. At 4.30 we arrived at the extreme southern limit of the forest, and met Raouf Bey with the steamer and twenty-five vessels, with a good supply of wood. The troops were in good

health, but one unfortunate man had been carried off by a crocodile while sitting on the vessel with his legs hanging over the side.

"*March* 3.—Filling up with wood from the forest.

"*March* 4.—Sent the steamer back to the station of Kutchuk Ali, the trader, to procure some cattle for the troops. In this neighbourhood there is dry land with many villages, but the entire country has been pillaged by Kutchuk Ali's people —the natives murdered, the women carried off, &c.

"Raouf Bey counted the bodies of eighteen natives who had been shot near the trader's camp. Yesterday I went to a native village, and made friends with the people, some of whom came down to our boats; they complained bitterly that they were subject to pillage and massacre by the traders. These so-called traders are the people of Kutchuk Ali, *the officer employed by the governor-general of the Soudan* to command his expedition to the Bahr Gazal!

"Filled up with a large supply of wood ready to start to-morrow.

"*March* 5.—Great good fortune! A fine north wind for the first time during many days. All the vessels sailing well. We started at 7 A.M.

Saw a *Baleniceps Rex;* this is the second of these rare birds that I have seen.[1]

"At 1 P.M., as we were steaming easily, I happened to be asleep on the poop-deck, when I was suddenly awakened by a shock, succeeded almost immediately by the cry, "The ship's sinking!" A hippopotamus had charged the steamer from the bottom, and had smashed several floats off her starboard paddle. A few seconds later he charged our diahbeeah, and striking her bottom about ten feet from the bow, he cut two holes through the iron plates with his tusks. There was no time to lose, as the water was rushing in with great force. Fortunately, in this land of marsh and floating grass, there were a few feet of tolerably firm ground rising from the deep water. Running alongside, all hands were hard at work discharging cargo with great rapidity, and baling out with every conceivable utensil, until we obtained assistance from the steamer, whose large hand-pump and numerous buckets at length so far overcame the rush of water, that we could discover the leaks.

"We now found two clean holes punched through

[1] The whale-headed stork, or *Baleniceps Rex*, is only met with in the immense swamps of the White Nile. This bird feeds generally upon water shellfish, for which nature has provided a most powerful beak armed with a hook at the extremity.

the iron as though driven by a sharp pickaxe. Some hours were occupied in repairing the damage by plastering white lead upon some thick felt; this was placed over the holes, and, small pieces of plank being laid over the felt, they were secured by an upright piece of timber tightened with wedges from a cross-beam. The leaks were thus effectually and permanently stopped.

"By sunset all was completed and the vessel reloaded; but I sent twenty-eight boxes of snider ammunition on board the tender. This miserable wood tender has sprung her yard so that she cannot carry sail. The day was entirely lost together with a fine north wind.

"*March* 6.—Brisk wind from the north. Started at 5.45 A.M., but at 7 A.M. something happened to the engine, and the steamer stopped until eight. After frequent stoppages, owing to the sharp bends in the narrow river, we arrived at the spot where we had formerly opened the dam; there the current ran like a rapid.

"*March* 7.—Much difficulty in ascending the river, but upon arrival at the dry ground (called the 'dubba'), we found the No. 8 steamer and the whole fleet assembled, with the exception of six that are in sight.

"*March* 8.—The other vessels arrived; I have thus thirty-four sail, including the two steamers. The entire country is swamp, covered with immensely high water-grass, beneath which the depth is considerable. The reputed main channel of the river is supposed to come from S.W., this is only denoted by a stream three or four feet broad, concealed by high grass, and in places choked by the *Pistia Stratiotes*. These surface plants, which resemble floating cabbages with fine thready roots, like a human beard of sixteen inches in length, form dense masses which are very difficult to clear.

"Our guides are useless, as we cannot depend upon their contradictory statements. We are in a deplorable position—the whole fleet in a *cul-de-sac*; the river has disappeared; an unknown distance of apparently boundless marsh lies before us; there is no wood, and there is no possibility of moving without cutting a channel.

"I have ordered thirty vessels to form in line, single file, and to cut a canal.

"*March* 9.—The men worked famously, but I much fear they will be laid up with fever if kept at such an unhealthy task. To-day a force of 700 men cut about a mile and a half. They are obliged

to slash through with swords and knives, and then to pull out the greater portion of the grass and vegetable trash; this is piled like artificial banks on either side upon the thick floating surface of vegetation. I took a small boat and pushed on for a mile and a half. I found a very narrow stream, like a small brook, which gave hopes of lighter labour for to-morrow. I shall therefore try to force the steamer through. Thirty-two men reported on the sick list this evening.

"*March* 10.—A fine north wind for about half an hour, when it suddenly chopped round to the S.E. We cut on far ahead, so that I was able to push on the steamers and the whole fleet for a distance of about five miles. I had a touch of fever.

"*March* 11.—Frightful stinking morass. All stopped at a black muddy pond in the swamp. The river is altogether lost. We have to cut a passage through the morass. Hard work throughout the day. One soldier died of sunstroke. No ground in which to bury him.

"It is a curious but most painful fact that the entire White Nile has ceased to be a navigable river. The boundless plains of marsh are formed of floating rafts of vegetation compressed into firm masses by the pressure of water during floods. So serious

is this obstacle to navigation, that unless a new channel can be discovered, or the original Nile be reopened, the centre of Africa will be entirely shut out from communication, and all my projects for the improvement of the country will be ruined by this extraordinary impediment.

"*March* 12.—I think I can trace by telescope the fringe of tall papyrus rush that should be the border of the White Nile; but this may be a delusion. The wind is S.W., dead against us. Many men are sick owing to the daily work of clearing a channel through the poisonous marsh. This is the Mohammedan festival of the Hadj, therefore there is little work to-day.

"*March* 13.—Measured 460 yards of apparently firm marsh, through which we plumbed the depth by long poles thrust to the bottom.

"Flowing water being found beneath, I ordered the entire force to turn out and cut a channel, which I myself superintended in the advance boat.

"By 6 P.M. the canal was completed, and the wind having come round to the north, we sailed through the channel and entered a fine lake about half a mile wide, followed by the whole fleet with bugles and drums sounding the advance, the troops vainly

hoping that their work was over. The steamers are about a mile behind, and I have ordered their paddles to be dismounted to enable them to be towed through the high grass in the narrow channel.

"*March* 14.—At 6 A.M. I started and surveyed the lake in a small rowing boat, and found it entirely shut in and separated from another small lake by a mass of dense rotten vegetation about eighty yards in width. I called all hands, and cleared it in fifty-five minutes sufficiently to allow the fleet to pass through. Upon an examination of the next lake, I found, to my intense disappointment, that not only was it closed in, but there was no outlet visible even from the mast-head. Not a drop of water was to be seen ahead, and the entire country was a perfect chaos, where the spirit of God apparently had not yet moved upon the waters. There was neither earth nor clear water, nor any solid resting place for a human foot. Now and then a solitary bittern rose from the marsh, but, beyond a few water-rails, there were no other birds. The grass was swarming with snakes, and also with poisonous ants that attacked the men, and greatly interfered with the work.

"It is easier to clear a passage through the green

grass than through the rotten vegetation. The former can be rolled in heaps so as to form banks, it is then secured by tying it to the strong grass growing behind it; the rotten stuff has no adherence, and a channel closes up almost as fast as it is made, thus our labour does no permanent good. I am in great anxiety about Mr. Higginbotham; it will be impossible for him to proceed by this route, should he arrive with a comparatively small force and heavily-laden vessels.

"As the channel closes so rapidly, I must wait until the steamers can close up in a compact line with the fleet.

"The black troops have more spirit than the Egyptians, but they are not so useful in clearing channels, as they are bad swimmers. They discovered to-day a muddy spot where they had a great hunt for fish, and succeeded in capturing with their hands about 500 pounds weight of the *Prolypterus*, some of which were above four pounds. We caught for ourselves a number of very delicious boulti (*Perca Nilotica*) with a casting-net.

"*March* 15.—Having probed the marsh with long poles, I found deep water beneath, which denoted the course of the sub-vegetal stream. All hands at work, and by the evening we had cut a

channel 300 yards in length. The marsh swarms with snakes, one of which managed to enter the cabin window of the diahbeeah. The two steamers, now far astern, have become choked by a general break up and alteration of their portion of the world. The small lake in which I left them is no longer open water, but has become a dense mass of compressed vegetable rafts, in which the steamers are jammed as though frozen in an ice-drift in the Arctic regions! There is much work required to clear them. The only chance of progress will be to keep the entire fleet in compact line so as to push through a new channel as quickly as it is made. I shall send back the wood tender, if possible, from this spot with a letter to stop Mr. Higginbotham should he be south of the Sobat, as it will be impossible for him to proceed until next season. Many of the men are sick with fever, and if this horrible country should continue, they will all sicken.

"*March* 16.—I went back in a rowing boat, accompanied by Lieutenant Baker, to the two steamers which we found stuck fast in the drift rafts, that had closed in upon them. Many men are sick—all are dispirited; and they worked badly. Having worked all day, we returned at 6.30 P.M. to my diahbeeah, having the good fortune to shoot seven

ducks by a family shot upon a mud bank on the way home.

"I found that the main body under the colonel, Raouf Bey, had completed the channel about 900 yards long to lake No. 3. I ordered sail to be made immediately, and after five hours' hard work, as the channel was already beginning to close, we arrived in the open lake at 11.45 P.M., in which we found the fleet at anchor.

"*March* 17.—The lake is about 2½ miles long, and varies from 150 to 300 yards in width, with a mean depth of ten feet. I sent men ahead in the boat to explore the exit; they now report it to be closed by a small dam, after which we shall enter another lake. Thunder and clouds threatening in the south-east.

"About half an hour before sunset I observed the head of a hippopotamus emerge from the bank of high grass that fringed the lake. My troops had no meat—thus I would not lose the opportunity of procuring, if possible, a supply of hippopotamus beef. I took a Reilly No. 8 breechloader, and started in the little dingy belonging to the diah-beeah. Having paddled quietly along the edge of the grass for a couple of hundred yards, I arrived near the spot from which the hippopotamus had emerged.

"It is the general habit of the hippopotami in these marsh districts to lie in the high grass swamps during the day, and to swim or amuse themselves in the open water at sunset.

"I had not waited long before I heard a snort, and I perceived the hippopotamus had risen to the surface about fifty yards from me. This distance was a little too great for the accurate firing necessary to reach the brain, especially when the shot must be taken from a boat, in which there is always some movement. I therefore allowed the animal to disappear, after which I immediately ordered the boat forward, to remain exactly over the spot where he had sunk. A few minutes elapsed, when the great ugly head of the hippopotamus appeared about thirty paces from the boat, and having blown the water from his nostrils, and snorted loudly, he turned round and seemed astonished to find the solitary little boat so near him. Telling the two boatmen to sit perfectly quiet, so as to allow a good sight, I aimed just below the eye, and fired a heavy shell, which contained a bursting charge of three drachms of fine-grained powder. The head disappeared. A little smoke hung over the water, and I could not observe other effects. The lake was deep, and after

vainly sounding for the body with a boathook, I returned to the diahbeeah just as it became dark.

"*March* 18.—A heavy shower of rain fell, which lasted for an hour and a half. When the rain ceased, the day continued cloudy with variable wind. The body of the hippopotamus was discovered at daybreak floating near us, therefore all hands turned out to cut him up, delighted at the idea of fresh meat. There was about an acre of high and dry ground that bordered the marsh in one spot; to this the carcase of the hippopotamus was towed. I was anxious to observe the effects of the explosive shell, as it was an invention of my own that had been manufactured by Mr. Reilly, the gunmaker, of London.[1] This shell was composed of iron, covered with lead. The interior was a cast-iron bottle (similar in shape to a stoneware Seltzer water bottle); the neck formed a nipple to receive a percussion-cap. The entire bottle was concealed by a leaden coating, which was cast in a mould to fit a No. 8, or two ounce rifle. The iron bottle contained three drachms of the strongest gunpowder, and a simple cap pressed down upon the nipple prepared the shell for service.

[1] Mr. Reilly of 502 New Oxford Street, has been most successful in heavy rifles, with which he has supplied me in both my African expeditions.

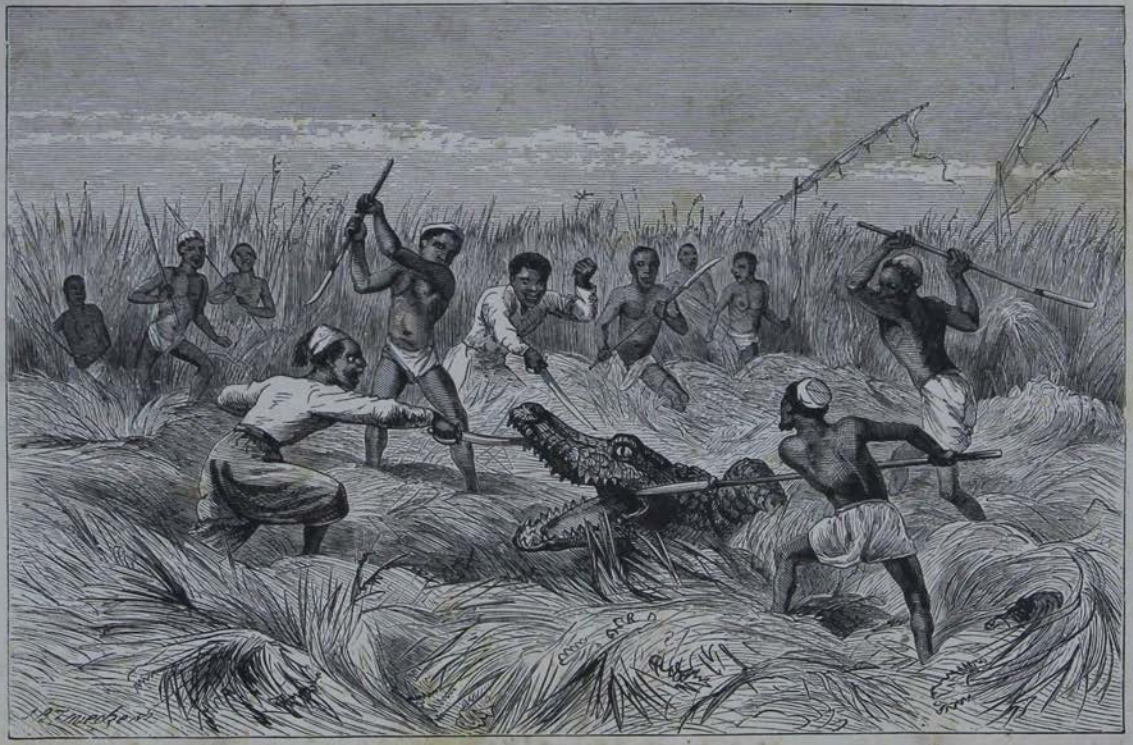
"On an examination of the head of the hippopotamus, I found that the shell had struck exactly beneath the eye, where the bone plate is thin. It had traversed the skull, and had apparently exploded in the brain, as it had entirely carried away the massive bone that formed the back of the skull. The velocity of the projectile had carried the fragments of the shell onwards after the explosion, and had formed a sort of tunnel which was blackened with burnt powder for a considerable distance along the flesh of the neck. I was quite satisfied with my explosive shell.

"The hippopotamus having been divided among the men, I sent Raouf Bey with a large force to assist the steamers, which still remain fixed in the same spot.

"At 2 P.M. it poured with rain until 9 P.M. Everything is soaking; and I have great anxiety about our large stores of corn.

"*March* 19.—Fine day, but all cargo, stores, &c., are wet. The miserable vessels of the Soudan are without decks, thus one heavy shower creates much damage. The men are busy drying their clothes, &c. Two soldiers died. Steamers far astern in the sudd, regularly fixed.

"*March* 20.—A boy died. I sent fresh men to



CROCODILE MOBBED IN THE SUDD.

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the assistance of the steamers, which have to be literally dug out.

"*March* 21.—Yesterday as the men were digging out the steamers, which had become blocked by the floating rafts, they felt something struggling beneath their feet. They immediately scrambled away in time to avoid the large head of a crocodile that broke its way through the tangled mass in which it had been jammed and held prisoner by the rafts. The black soldiers, armed with swords and bill-hooks, immediately attacked the crocodile, who, although freed from imprisonment, had not exactly fallen into the hands of the Royal Humane Society. He was quickly despatched, and that evening his flesh gladdened the cooking-pots of the Soudani regiment.

"I was amused with the account of this adventure given by various officers who were eye-witnesses. One stated in reply to my question as to the length of the animal, "Well, sir, I should not like to exaggerate, but I should say it was forty-five feet long from snout to tail!" Another witness declared it to be at least twenty feet; but by rigid cross-examination I came to the conclusion that it did not exceed ten.

"The steamers and tender having been released,

arrived this morning. At 1 P.M. we started with a light air from the north-east, and travelled till 3.30 P.M. along the lake, which narrowed to the dimensions of a moderate river. We at length arrived at a sudd which the advance boats had cleared for about sixty yards. Having emerged, we were introduced to a deep but extremely narrow channel flowing through the usual enormous grass.

"The whole fleet ranged in single line to widen the passage. We are now about twelve miles from the dubba, or raised dry ground, near to which we first commenced clearing. We have actually cut away about six miles of vegetation. No dependence whatever can be placed upon the guides: no place answers to their descriptions. We have now been hard at work for thirteen days with a thousand men, during which time we have travelled only twelve miles!

"*March* 22.—Wind S.W.—foul. The people are all lazy and despairing. Cleared a sudd. I explored ahead in a small boat. As usual, the country is a succession of sudds and small open patches of water. The work is frightful, and great numbers of my men are laid down with fever; thus my force is physically diminished daily, while morally

the men are heart-broken. Another soldier died; but there is no dry spot to bury him. We live in a world of swamp and slush. Lieutenant Baker shot a *Baleniceps Rex.* This day we opened about 600 yards.

"*March* 23.—We have been throughout the day employed in tugging the vessels through the channel. The Egyptians have quite lost heart. The Soudanis are far more valuable as soldiers; none of them are ill, and they work with a good will. I serve them out a glass of grog in the evening. The fanatical fellahs will not touch spirits, thus they succumb to fever and nervousness when exhausted by the chill occasioned by working throughout the day in mud and water.

"*March* 24.—Wind fresh from the S.W. All the vessels assembled last evening in a small lake. Before us there is as usual simply a narrow stream closed in by vegetation. I observed marks of the traders' parties having broken through a few months ago. These people travel without merchandize, but with a large force of men: thus their vessels are of light draught of water. My steamers and many of the boats require four feet six inches. Every vessel is heavily laden, thus they are difficult to manage unless in open and deep water.

"There is to-day a forest on the east, about two miles distant, beyond the swamp. After a hard day's work we made about 1,400 yards.

"*March* 25.—Wind fair and fresh from the N.E. This helped us to make about a mile through the narrow channel, hemmed in by thick and high grass. Another soldier died. As usual, this poor fellow was an artilleryman. These men came direct from Cairo with their guns, and not being acclimatized, they cannot resist the fever. The Egyptian troops give in and lose all heart; but there is much allowance to be made for them, as it is a fearful country, and far beyond my worst experience. There is no apparent break to the boundless marsh before and behind us, this is about fifteen miles wide, as forest trees and the tall dolape palms can sometimes be distinguished upon the horizon.

"What the unfortunate Higginbotham will do I cannot conceive, as there is no possibility of communicating with him, and he will get into the rainy season.

"Another soldier died this evening; he was an excellent man, who had been employed at the arsenal at Cairo. His friend and bosom companion was a fellow-workman, and he was so grieved at the loss that he declared he should not live beyond

a few days. There was no dry ground in which to dig a grave; it was therefore necessary to cut a hole in the base of a white ant-hill, as these Babel-like towers were the only dry spots that rose above the flood.

"This death is the sixth within the last few days, exclusive of one boy. I think our black doctor assists them in departing from this life, as they die very suddenly when he attends them. Like Dr. Sangrado, he is very fond of the lancet, which is usually fatal in this climate. We made about half a mile to-day.

"*March* 26.—Wind fresh from the S.E. The ditch is completely blocked up with vegetation: thus we made only 250 yards. Before us, as usual, is the hopeless sea of high grass, along which is a dark streak which marks the course of the ditch through which we slowly clear a passage. How many days or months we may require to reach the White Nile is a problem. One hundred and fifty men are on the sick list; nearly all of them are fellahs. Upon my own diahbeeah six soldiers out of ten are down with fever, in addition to two of the sailors. I gave them all a severe shock with the magnetic battery, which appeared to have a wonderful effect; one fellow, who had been groaning with severe pains in

his back and limbs, declared that he was instantly relieved. I made a good shot with the Dutchman at a *Baleniceps Rex*, at a distance of upwards of 200 yards.

"There is no rest by night or day for our people, who are preyed upon by clouds of mosquitoes, which attack like bull-dogs.

"*March* 27.—All hands hard at work clearing the ditch. Wind S.E.—fresh. The diahbeeah, as usual, leads the way, followed by No. 10 steamer' and the whole fleet in close line. Most of the men suffer from headache; this is owing to the absurd covering, the fez, or tarboosh, which is no protection against the sun.

"In the evening I took a small boat, and in forty-one minutes' poling and tugging through the narrow channel, I succeeded in reaching a long narrow lake resembling a river, about 110 yards wide. The mouth of our effluent was, for a wonder, clear from obstruction; I returned with the joyful news to the fleet after sunset.

"*March* 28.—At 7.30 A.M. all hands turned out to clear the channel to the lake; this was about 500 yards long, and the diahbeeah, leading the way, entered the lake at 11.30 A.M. Unfortunately a shallow channel near the entrance prevented the

steamers from entering, thus a passage had to be dug in the tough clay beneath them. The wind strong from the south. I am afraid the north wind has deserted us for the season.

"Having entered the lake, I went about a mile and a half ahead in my diahbeeah, and anchored for the night in a broad and shallow portion of the water, a forest being about a mile distant on the east bank: this was a good sign of *terra firma*, but there was no dry spot upon which we could land.

"The river winds to the S.E., and apparently then turns to the west. The effluent through which we joined this lake or river meets it at right angles, and the river continues its course to the N.N.W., as though it were the main channel of a far more important stream than the horrible ditch by which we arrived. The guide, however, assures me that it is blocked up, and loses itself in boundless grass and reeds.

"In the evening I spied a hippopotamus which had just come out of the high grass into the open river. It snorted loudly at the strange sight of the handsomely-painted diahbeeah. I took the boat, and upon my near approach it was foolish enough to swim towards us angrily. A shot from the

Reilly No. 8, with one of my explosive shells, created a lively dance, as the hippopotamus received the message under the eye. Rolling over and over, with the legs frequently in the air, it raised waves that rocked my little boat and made shooting difficult; but upon a close approach, taking good care to keep out of reach of its struggles, I gave it a quietus with a hardened spherical ball from the same rifle, which passed right through the head. By sounding with the long boat-hook, I found the body at the bottom in about ten feet of water. My excellent captain of the diahbeeah, Faddul-Moolah, dived to the bottom, and secured the leg of the hippopotamus by a rope. We towed it to the diahbeeah, from the deck of which my wife had had a capital view of the sport. This is a fine feast for the people. My explosive shell is frightful in its effects.

"*March* 29.—Wind strong from the south; the steamer is not yet out of difficulty. My men are busy cutting up the hippopotamus. I sent off the iron boat with three quarters of the animal to the troops astern. During the night a crocodile took away all the offal from the stern of the diahbeeah. The weather is much cooler, owing to the south wind and the clear space in which we are now anchored.

"*March* 30.—The river is now clear and unmistakable. We travelled about ten miles by poling; this is the best day's work that we have made since we entered this chaotic region. Lieutenant Baker came on board my diahbeeah, having brought up the steamers.

"The country began to look more hopeful. A forest at a few miles' distance on both the right and left bank of the river betokened dry land. The river flowed between actual honest banks, which although only a few inches above the water were positive boundaries. The flat plain was covered with large white ant-hills, and the ground was evidently firm in the distance, as we could distinguish a herd of antelopes.

"As we were quietly poling the diahbeeah against the sluggish stream, we observed wild buffaloes that, at a distance of about 400 yards, appeared to be close to the bank of the river. I accordingly stopped the diahbeeah, and, accompanied by Lieutenant Baker, I approached them in the small boat, rowed by two men. A fortunate bend of the river, and several clumps of high rushes, concealed the boat until by a sudden turn we came within sixty yards of two bull buffaloes. Having told Mr. Baker to take the first shot, he sent a spherical No. 8

through the shoulder of the nearest bull, which, after a few plunges, fell dead. The other, startled at the shot, dashed off; at the same time he received a shell from my rifle in the flank, and a shot from the left-hand barrel in the rear. With these shots he went off about three hundred paces, and lay down, as we thought, to die. I intended to stalk him from behind the white ant-hills, but my sailors, in intense excitement, rushed forward, supposing that his beef was their own, and although badly hit, he again rose and cantered off till lost in high rushes.

"*March* 31.—As we proceeded, the banks became drier. The two steamers had arrived during the night, and the whole fleet is coming up astern. The river is now about fifty yards wide, but I am getting nervous about the depth; the water is very shallow in some of the bends, and I fear there will be great difficulty in getting through with the steamers and heavy vessels. My diahbeeah, which is of iron, although roomy, is exceedingly light, and only requires two feet three inches of water. We have been fifty-one days from Khartoum. Never have I known so miserable a voyage. Wind fresh from the south."

## CHAPTER III.

### THE RETREAT.

"*April* 1.—All the vessels are stuck fast for want of water! This is terrible. I went on in advance with my diahbeeah, accompanied by Mr. Baker, for about three miles to explore. Throughout this distance the greatest depth was about four feet, and the average was under three feet. At length the diahbeeah, which drew only two feet three inches, was fast aground! This was at a point where two raised mounds, or dubbas, were on opposite sides of the river. I left the vessel, and, with Mr. Baker, I explored in the rowing boat for about two miles in advance. After the first mile, the boat grounded in about six inches of water upon firm sand. The river, after having deepened for a short space, was suddenly divided into three separate channels, all of which were too shallow for the passage of the diahbeeah, and two were even too shallow to admit the small boat. The boatmen

jumped out, and we hauled her up the shallows until we reached the main stream, above the three channels, which ran from the S.S.E., but having no greater mean depth than about two feet six inches.

"We continued for some distance up the stream with the same unfortunate results. The banks, although flooded during the wet season, were now dry, and a forest was about a mile distant. Having left the boat and ascended a white ant-hill, about eight feet high, in order to take a view of the country, I observed a herd of very beautiful antelopes, of a kind that were quite unknown to me.

"By careful stalking on the flat plain from one ant-hill to another, I obtained a fair shot at about 140 yards, and killed. Both male and female have horns, therefore I found it difficult to distinguish the sex at that distance. I was delighted with my prize; it was a female, weighing, I should estimate, about twenty stone, clean. The hide was a deep reddish yellow, with black shoulders and legs, also black from the hind quarters down the hind legs. It belonged to the species *Hippotragus*, and had horns that curved backwards, something similar to the *Hippotragus Niger*, but much shorter.[1]

[1] *Vide* Appendix. This antelope, which I considered to be a new species, proved to be the *Damalis Senegalensis* of Western Africa.

"We soon cut it into quarters, and carried it to the boat. This little success in sport had cheered me for the moment; but the happy excitement quickly passed away, and we returned to the diahbeeah quite disheartened. It is simply impossible to continue the voyage, as there is no means of floating the vessels.

"To-morrow I shall explore the channel No. 3, which runs from the W.S.W.

"*April* 2.—I explored the west channel. This is very narrow, and overgrown with grass. After about a mile we arrived at a shallow place only two feet deep. The whole river is absolutely impracticable at this season. During the rains, and even to the end of December, when the river is full, the vessels could pass, but at no other time. All my labour has been useless, but it would be utterly absurd to attempt a further advance. I have therefore determined to return at once to the Shillook country, and establish a station. Mr. Higginbotham and party will then unite with us, and I will collect the entire force from Khartoum, and start with the expedition complete in the end of November. Although I am grievously disappointed, I am convinced that this is the wisest course. During the rainy season the troops shall

cultivate corn, and I shall explore the old White Nile in a steamer, and endeavour to discover a navigable channel *viâ* the original route by the Bahr Gazal.

"I was obliged with a heavy heart to give the sad order to turn back; at 3 P.M. we arrived at the assembled fleet.

"I summoned all the officers, and in the presence of Raouf Bey I explained the necessity. The vessels immediately commenced the return voyage, all the officers and men being delighted at the idea of a retreat which they imagined would take them to Khartoum, and terminate the expedition; thus I had little sympathy. However, I determined to make arrangements for the following season that would enable me to cut through every difficulty. I kept these intentions to myself, or only shared them with my wife and Lieutenant Baker.

"*April* 3.—Washed decks early, and sent off three soldiers, thus reducing the escort on the dahbeeah to seven men.

"The entire fleet was in full retreat with wind and stream in favour. I would not allow the dahbeeah that had always led the advance to accompany them in the retreat; therefore I allowed them to push on ahead.

"A shower of rain fell to-day; also yesterday.

"A few minutes after starting, both the steamers stuck fast. As I was walking the poop of the diahbeeah, I noticed with the telescope an antelope standing on the summit of an ant-hill about a mile and a quarter distant. There is no change so delightful as a little sport if you are in low spirits; thus, taking the rifle, I rowed up the river for about half a mile in the small boat, and then landing, I obtained the right wind. It was exceedingly difficult to approach game in these extensive treeless flats, and it would have been quite impossible, had it not been for the innumerable hills of the white ants; these are the distinguishable features of these swampy countries, and the intelligence of the insects directs their architecture to a height far above the level of the highest floods. The earth used in their construction is the subsoil, brought up from a considerable depth, as the ant-hills are yellow, while the surface-soil is black. The earth is first swallowed by the insect and thus it becomes mixed with some albuminous matter which converts it into a cement that resists the action of rain. These hills were generally about eight feet high in the swampy districts, but I have frequently seen them above ten feet. The antelopes make

use of such ant-hills as they can ascend as watch towers, from which lofty position they can observe an enemy at a great distance. It is the custom of several varieties to place sentries while the herd is grazing, and upon this occasion, although the sentry was alone visible, I felt sure that the herd was somewhere in his neighbourhood. I have noticed that the sentries are generally bulls. On this occasion I resolved, if possible, to stalk the watchman. I was shooting with a very accurate express rifle, a No. 70 bore of Purdey's, belonging to my friend, Sir Edward Kerrison, who had kindly lent it to me as a favourite weapon when I left England. The grass was very low, and quite green, as it had been fired by the wandering natives some time since; thus, in places there were patches of the tall withered herbage that had been only partially consumed by the fire while unripe: these patches were an assistance in stalking.

"It was, of course, necessary to keep several tall ant-hills in a line with that upon which the antelope was standing, and to stoop so low that I could only see the horns of the animal upon the sky-line. In some places it was necessary to crawl upon the ground; this was trying work, on account of the sharp stumps of the burnt herbage which punished

the hands and knees. The fine charcoal dust from the recent fire was also a trouble, as the wind blew it into the eyes. The water-mark upon the ant-hills was about eighteen inches above the base, proving the height of the annual floods; and a vast number of the large water *helix*, the size of a man's fist, lay scattered over the ground, destroyed and partially calcined by the late prairie fire.

"The sun was very hot, and I found crawling so great a distance a laborious operation; my eyes were nearly blinded with perspiration and charcoal dust; but every now and then, as I carefully raised my head, I could distinguish the horns of the antelope in the original position. At length I arrived at the base of the last ant-hill from which I must take my shot.

"There were a few tufts of low scrub growing on the summit; to these I climbed, and digging my toes firmly into an inequality in the side of the hill, I planted my elbows well on the surface, my cap being concealed by the small bushes and tufts of withered grass. The antelope was standing unconsciously about 170 yards, or, as I then considered, about 180 yards from me, perfectly motionless, and much resembling a figure fixed upon a pedestal. The broadside was exposed, thus it would have been im-

possible to have had a more perfect opportunity after a long stalk. Having waited in position for a minute or two, to become cool and to clear my eyes, I aimed at his shoulder. Almost as I touched the trigger, the antelope sank suddenly upon its knees, in which position it remained for some seconds on the summit of the ant-hill, and then rolled down to the base, dead. I stepped the exact distance, 169 paces. I had fired rather high, as the bullet had broken the spine a little in front of the shoulder-blade. It was a very beautiful animal, a fine bull, of the same kind that I had killed on 1st April. This antelope was about thirteen hands high at the shoulder, the head long, the face and ears black, also the top of the head; the body bright bay, with a stripe of black about fifteen inches in width extending obliquely across the shoulder, down both the fore and the hind legs, and meeting at the rump. The tail was long, with a tuft of long black hair at the extremity. The horns were deeply annulated, and curved backwards towards the shoulders.

"This was a very large animal, that would have weighed quite thirty stone when gralloched. My boatman, who had been watching the sport, immediately despatched a man for assistance to the diahbeeah. I enjoyed the beauty of this animal: the

THE "DAMALIS SENEGALENSIS"—STALKING THE SENTRY.

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HAULING THE NO. 10 STEAMER THROUGH THE CANALS IN THE MIDST OF THE VEGETABLE OBSTRUCTIONS.

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hide glistened like the coat of a well-groomed horse.

"I did not reach the diahbeeah until 6 P.M.; we then started without delay, and reached the fleet at midnight, at the junction of the ditch through which we had previously arrived at the main river.

"*April* 4.—The vessels are passing with great difficulty over the shallow entrance of the ditch.

"*April* 5.—All the vessels have passed. At 6 P.M. we succeeded, after much labour, in getting the last of the steamers through. This accomplished, and having the stream in our favour, we passed along in a compact line for about a mile and a half, the ditch that we had opened being clear and in good order.

"*April* 6.—Another soldier died. This poor man was the companion of him who, a few days ago, prophesied his own end when he lost his friend. Curiously enough, he died as he was passing the spot where his friend was buried, and we had to bury him in the same ant-hill. The Egyptian troops are very unhealthy. When they first joined the expedition, they were an exceedingly powerful body of men, whose *physique* I much admired, although their *morale* was of the worst type. I think that

every man has lost at least a stone in weight since we commenced this dreadful voyage in chaos, or the Slough of Despond.

"The boats reached the small lake, and continued their voyage through the channel, and anchored for the night at the northern extremity of the five-mile lake. We catch delicious fish daily with the casting-net; the best are the Nile perch, that runs from a pound to four or five pounds, and a species of carp. One of my boatmen is a professional fisherman who understands the casting-net, but he is the only man who can use it.

"*April* 7.—The channel is again blocked up; all hands clearing into the next lake. Another soldier died—making a total of nine; with two sailors and a boy—total twelve.

"*April* 8.—Passed into lake No. 2, and by the afternoon reached lake No. 3, where we found our old channel blocked up. I set men to work to open the passage, but there is no chance of its completion until about noon to-morrow. Since we passed this lake a change has taken place, the obstruction through which we cut a channel has entirely broken up. Large rafts of about two acres each have drifted asunder, and have floated to the end of the lake. It is thus impossible to predict

what the future may effect. There can be no doubt that the whole of this country was at some former period a lake, which has gradually filled up with vegetation. The dry land, which is only exposed during the hot season, is the result of the decay of vegetable matter. The ashes of the grass that is annually burnt, by degrees form a soil. We are even now witnessing the operation that has formed, and is still increasing the vast tract of alluvial soil through which we have past. There is not a stone nor even a small pebble for a distance of two hundred miles; the country is simple mud.

"*April* 9.—Passed the old channel at 11.45 A.M., after much labour, and we found the long five-mile cutting pretty clear, with the exception of two or three small obstructions. At 5.30 P.M. we reached the Bahr Giraffe, from which extremely narrow channel we had first commenced our difficult work of cutting through many miles of country.

"Who could believe the change? Some evil spirit appears to rule in this horrible region of everlasting swamp. A wave of the demon's wand, and an incredible change appears! The narrow and choked Bahr Giraffe has disappeared; instead of which a

river of a hundred yards' width of clear running water meets us at the junction of our cutting. As far as the eye can reach to the E.S.E., there is a succession of large open sheets of water where a few days ago we saw nothing but a boundless plain of marsh grass, without one drop of water visible. These sheets of water mark the course of a river, but each lake is separated by a dam of floating vegetation. The volume of water is very important, and a stream is running at the rate of three miles an hour. Nevertheless, although in open water, we now find ourselves prisoners in a species of lake, as we are completely shut in by a serious dam of dense rafts of vegetation that have been borne forward and tightly compressed by the great force of this new river. It is simply ridiculous to suppose that this river can ever be rendered navigable. One or two vessels, if alone, would be utterly helpless, and might be entirely destroyed with their crews by a sudden change that might break up the country and inclose them in a trap from which they could never escape.

We passed the night at anchor. Many hippopotami are snorting and splashing in the new lakes.

"*April* 10.—After a hard day's labour, a portion of the fleet succeeded in cutting through the most

serious dam, and we descended our old river to the dubba, or dry mound, where we had first discovered vestiges of the traders. The No. 10 steamer arrived in the evening. The river is wider than when we last saw it, but is much obstructed by small islands, formed of rafts of vegetation that have grounded in their descent. I fear we may find the river choked in many places below stream. No dependence can ever be placed upon this accursed river. The fabulous Styx must be a sweet rippling brook, compared to this horrible creation. A violent wind acting upon the high waving mass of sugar-cane grass may suddenly create a change; sometimes large masses are detached by the gambols of a herd of hippopotami, whose rude rambles during the night break narrow lanes through the floating plains of water-grass, through which the action of the stream may tear large masses from the main body.

"The water being pent up by enormous dams of vegetation, mixed with mud and half-decayed matter, forms a chain of lakes at slightly-varying levels. The sudden breaking of one dam would thus cause an impetuous rush of stream that might tear away miles of country, and entirely change the equilibrium of the floating masses.

"*April* 11.—I sent a sailing vessel ahead to examine the river, with orders that she should dip her ensign in case she met with an obstruction. Thank God, all is clear. I therefore ordered the steamers to remount their paddles.

"We started at 10 P.M.

"*April* 12.—At 11.30 P.M. we met five of Ghattas[1] boats bound for the White Nile. These people declared their intention of returning, when they heard the deplorable account of the river.

"At 2 A.M. we arrived at our old position, close to our former wood station in the forest.

"*April* 13.—Started at 11.30 A.M. The river has fallen three feet since we were here, and the country is now dry. Mr. Baker and I therefore walked a portion of the way upon the banks as the diahbeeah slowly descended the stream. There were great numbers of wild fowl; also hippopotami, and being provided with both shot guns and heavy rifles we made a very curious bag during the afternoon, that in England or Scotland would have been difficult to carry home; we shot and secured two hippopotami, one crocodile, twenty-two geese, and twenty ducks.

"At 7 P.M. we arrived at the station of Kutchuk

[1] One of the principal Khartoum ivory and slave traders.

Ali. I sent for the vakeel, or agent, commanding the company, to whom I thoroughly explained the system and suppression of the slave trade. He seemed very incredulous that it would actually be enforced; but I recommended him not to make the experiment of sending cargoes of slaves down to Khartoum, as he had done in previous years. He appeared to be very confident that because his employer, Kutchuk Ali, had been promoted to the rank of sandjak, with the command of a government expedition, no inquiry would be made concerning the acts of his people. No greater proof could be given of the insincerity of the Soudan authorities in professing to suppress the slave trade, than the fact, that Djiaffer Pacha, the governor-general of the Soudan, had given the command of an expedition to this same Kutchuk Ali, who was known as one of the principal slave-traders of the White Nile.

"*April* 14.—One of my black soldiers deserted, but was captured. We also caught a sailor who had deserted to the slave-hunters during our passage up the river, but as we returned unexpectedly he was discovered. The colonel, Raouf Bey, reported this morning that several officers and soldiers had actually purchased slaves to-day from

Kutchuk Ali's station; thus, the Khedive's troops, who are employed under my command to suppress the slave trade, would quickly convert the expedition into a slave market. I at once ordered the slaves to be returned, and issued stringent instructions to the officers.

"I saw this afternoon a number of newly-captured slave women and girls fetching water under the guard of a scoundrel with a loaded musket. I know that the station is full of slaves; but there is much diplomacy necessary, and at present I do not intend to visit their camp.

"*April* 15.—To prevent further desertions, it was necessary to offer an example to the troops. I therefore condemned the deserter who was captured yesterday to be shot at noon.

"At the bugle call, the troops mustered on parade in full uniform. The prisoner in irons was brought forward and marched round the hollow square, accompanied by muffled drums.

"The sentence having been declared, after a short address to the men, the prisoner was led out, and the firing party advanced. He was a fine young man of about twenty years of age, a native of Pongo, who had been taken as a slave, and had become a soldier against his will.

"There was much allowance for desertion under the circumstances, and I was moved by the manly way in which he prepared for death. He cast his eyes around, but he found neither sympathy nor friends in the hard features of the officers and men. The slave-trader's people had turned out in great numbers, dressed in their best clothes, to enjoy the fun of a military execution. The firing party was ready; the prisoner knelt down with his back towards them, at about five paces distant. At that moment he turned his face with a beseeching expression towards me; but he was ordered immediately to look straight before him.

"The order, 'Present,' was given, and the sharp clicking of the locks, as the muskets were brought on full cock and presented, left but another moment. . . . .

"At that instant I ordered the firing party to retire, and I summoned the prisoner, who was brought up in charge of the guard. In the presence of all the troops I then explained to him the necessity of strict discipline, and that the punishment of death must certainly follow desertion, at the same time I made such allowance for his youth and ignorance that I determined to reduce the punishment to that of flogging, which I trusted

would be a warning to him and all others. I assured him, and the troops generally, that although I should never flinch from administering severe punishment when necessary, I should be much happier in rewarding those who should do their duty. The prisoner was flogged and kept in irons. The troops formed into sections of companies and marched past with band playing; each company cheering as they passed before me; but the crowd of slave-hunters slunk back to their station, disappointed that no blood had been spilt for their amusement.[1]

"No person except Lieutenant Baker and the colonel, Raouf Bey, had been in the secret that *I had never intended to shoot the man.* I had merely arranged an impressive scene as a *coup de théâtre,* that I trusted might benefit the *morale* of the men.

"We were now in the fine clear stream of the Bahr Giraffe, which having received numerous affluents from the marsh regions, was united in one

[1] It was satisfactory to me that this young man, who was pardoned and punished as described, became one of the best and most thoroughly trustworthy soldiers of my body-guard; and having at length been raised to the rank of corporal, he was at the close of the expedition promoted to that of serjeant. His name was Ferritch Ajoke.

volume. We got up steam and started at 4.30 P.M., and the diahbeeah, towed by the steamer down stream, travelled at about nine miles an hour until 8 A.M., making a run of 125 miles.

"We then stopped at a large forest on the west bank to cut wood for the steamer.

"*April* 16.—Went out shooting with Mr. Baker, and shot two *Ellipsyprymnd* antelopes. The country is beautiful, but game is scarce. The forest is much broken by elephants, which appear to frequent it during the wet season. These animals are very useful in preparing wood for the steamers' fires. They break down the green trees, which thus dry and become good fuel. Were it not for the elephants, we should only find dead wood, which is nearly all either hollow or rotten, and of little use as firewood. To day we met four vessels from Khartoum that had followed me with a reinforcement of one company of troops, with letters from Djiaffer Pacha and Mr. Higginbotham.

"*April* 17.—We steamed about thirty-seven miles and then halted at a good forest to fill up our supply of wood. The forest on the left bank is about thirty-seven miles in length, but it is merely a few hundred yards in width, beyond which the country is prairie. On the east bank,

where there is no forest, we saw giraffes, buffaloes, and antelopes in considerable numbers during the day.

"*April* 18.—Filling up wood in the morning. We then travelled three hours, and halted eleven miles from the White Nile junction. During the voyage we saw a lion and lioness with five cubs running off alarmed at the steamer.

"In the afternoon I went out and shot seven geese and two fine black bucks.

"Lieutenant Baker was unfortunately ill with fever. Here we met four more vessels with a company of soldiers from Khartoum. They of course remained with us.

"*April* 19.—In an hour and a half we arrived at the White Nile, and twenty minutes later we saw three vessels belonging to the mudir, or governor, of Fashoda. We heard from the people on these boats that the governor (Ali Bey, the Koordi,) was making a razzia on the Shillook tribe. The banks of the river were crowded with natives running away in all directions; women were carrying off all their little household goods, and children were following their parents, each with a basket on their heads containing either food or something too valuable to be left behind. I immediately went

off in a rowing boat, and, after much difficulty, I succeeded in inducing some of the natives who could speak Arabic to stop and converse with me. They declared that the Turks had attacked them without provocation, and that the Koordi (as the governor of Fashoda was called) had stolen many of their women and children, and had killed their people, as he was generally plundering the country. I begged the natives not to fly from their district, but to wait until I should make inquiries on the following day; and I promised to restore the women and children, should they have been kidnapped.

"I halted at a forest about nine miles from the junction of the Bahr Giraffe, where a bend of the river concealed the steamers and diahbeeah.

"Late at night, when most people were asleep, I sent orders to the chief engineer of the No. 10 steamer to have the steam up at five on the following morning.

"*April* 20. — We started punctually at the appointed hour; my diahbeeah, as usual, being towed by the steamer. As we rounded the point and quickly came in sight of the governor's vessels, I watched them with a powerful telescope. For some time we appeared to be unobserved. I knew

that the troops were not celebrated for keeping a sharp lookout, and we arrived within three quarters of a mile before the sound of our paddles attracted their attention. The telescope now disclosed some of the mysteries of the expedition. I perceived a considerable excitement among the troops on shore. I made out one tent, and I distinguished men hurrying to and fro apparently busy and excited. During this time we were rapidly approaching, and as the distance lessened, I could distinctly see a number of people being driven from the shore on board a vessel that was lying alongside the bank. I felt convinced that these were slaves, as I could distinguish the difference in size between the children and adults. In the meantime we were travelling at full speed (about eight miles an hour) in the broad but slack current of that portion of the White Nile.

"At 6.35 we ranged up alongside the bank opposite the tent which belonged to the Koordi governor of Fashoda. We had passed close to the three vessels, but no person was visible except their crews. My arrival was evidently quite unexpected, and not very agreeable.

"The governor shortly appeared, and was invited on the poop deck of my dahbeeah; this was

always furnished with carpets and sofas so as to form a divan.

"After a pipe and coffee, I commenced the conversation by describing the impossibility of an advance at this season *viâ* the Bahr Giraffe, therefore I had found it necessary to return. He simply replied, 'God is great! and, please God, you will succeed next year.'

"I now asked him how many troops he had with him, as I noticed two brass guns, a number of irregular cavalry, in addition to some companies of infantry. He replied that he had five companies, in addition to the cavalry and mounted Baggara Arabs; and that he was 'collecting the taxes.'

"I begged him to explain to me his system of taxation; and to inform me whether he had established a poll tax, or a house tax, or in what special form the taxes were represented. This seemed to be a great puzzle to the mind of the governor, and, after applying to my colonel, to whom he spoke in Turkish, he replied that the people were very averse to taxation, therefore he made one annual tour throughout the country, and collected what he thought just.

"I asked him whether he captured women and

children in the same way in which he annexed the natives' cattle. To this question he replied by a distinct negative, at the same time assuming an expression of horror at such an idea.

"I immediately ordered my aide-de-camp, Lieutenant-Colonel Abd-el-Kader, to visit the vessels that were lying a few yards astern. This was a very excellent and trustworthy officer, and he immediately started upon an examination. In the meanwhile the Koordi governor sat rigidly upon the sofa, puffing away at his long pipe, but evidently thinking that the affair would not end in simple smoke.

"In a few minutes I heard the voice of my colonel angrily expostulating with the crew of the vessel, who had denied that any slaves were on board. Almost at the same time a crowd of unfortunate captives emerged from below, where they had been concealed, and walked singly along the plank to the shore; being counted by the officer according to sex as they disembarked. The Koordi governor looked uncomfortable, as this happened before our eyes. I made no remark, but simply expressed a wish to walk round his encampment.

"Having passed through the place of bivouac, where the foulest smells attacked us from all sides,

I thoroughly examined the spot, accompanied by Lieutenant Baker and a few officers of my staff. There was no military order, but the place was occupied by a crowd of soldiers, mingled with many native allies, under the command of an extremely blackguard-looking savage, dressed in a long scarlet cloak made of woollen cloth. This was belted round his waist, to which was suspended a crooked Turkish sabre; he wore a large brass medal upon his breast, which somewhat resembled those ornaments that undertakers use for giving a lively appearance to coffins. This fellow was introduced to me by the Koordi as the 'king of the Shillooks.'

"In the rear of the party, to which spot I had penetrated while the Koordi was engaged in giving orders to certain officers, I came suddenly upon a mass of slaves, who were squatted upon the ground, and surrounded by dirty clothes, arranged like a fence, by the support of lances, pieces of stick, camel saddles, &c. These people were guarded by a number of soldiers, who at first seemed to think that my visit was one of simple curiosity.

"Many of the women were secured to each other by ropes passed from neck to neck. A crowd of children, including very young infants,

squatted among the mass, and all kept a profound silence, and regarded me with great curiosity. Having sent for my note-book, I divided the slaves into classes, and counted them as follows:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Concealed in the boat we had discovered, | 71 |
| Those on shore guarded by sentries were | 84 |
| | 155 |

including 65 girls and women, 80 children, and 10 men. The governor of Fashoda, whom I thus had caught in the act of kidnapping slaves, was the person who, a few weeks before, had assured me that the slave trade was suppressed, as the traders dared not pass his station of Fashoda. The real fact was, that this excellent example of the Soudan made a considerable fortune by levying a toll upon every slave which the traders' boats brought down the river; this he put into his own pocket.

"I immediately informed him that I should report him to the Khedive, at the same time I insisted upon the liberation of every slave.

"At first he questioned my authority, saying that he held the rank of bey, and was governor of the district. I simply told him that 'if he refused to liberate the slaves, he must give me that refusal

in writing.' This was an awkward fix, and he altered his tone by attempting to explain that they were not slaves, but only held as hostages until the people should pay their taxes. At the same time he was obliged to confess that there was no established tax. I heard that he had received from one native ten cows for the ransom of his child, thus the stolen child was sold back to the father for ten cows! and this was the Soudan method of collecting taxes! If the unfortunate father had been shot dead in the razzia, his unransomed child would have been carried away and sold as a slave; or should the panic-stricken natives be afraid to approach with a ransom for fear of being kidnapped themselves, the women and children would be lost to them for ever.

"I was thoroughly disgusted. I knew that what I had happened to discover was the rule of the Soudan, and that the protestations of innocence of governors was simply dust thrown into the eyes. It was true that the Shillook country was not in my jurisdiction; but I was determined to interfere in behalf of the slaves, although I should not meddle with the general affairs of the country. I therefore told the Koordi that I had the list of the captives, and he must send for some responsible

native to receive them and take them to their homes. In the meantime I should remain in the neighbourhood. I then returned to the fleet that I had left at the forest. In the evening we were joined by most of the rear vessels.

"*April* 21.—At 9.30 A.M. we sighted eleven vessels in full sail, approaching from Khartoum, with a strong N.-E. wind, and shortly afterwards we were delighted by the arrival of Mr. Higginbotham, Dr. Gedge, and the six English engineers, shipwrights, &c., all in good health.

"*April* 22.—I paid a visit to the Koordi's camp, accompanied by Mr. Baker and Mr. Higginbotham, as I wished to have European witnesses to the fact. Upon arrival, I explained to the governor that he had compromised the Egyptian government by his act, and as I had received general instructions from the Khedive to suppress all slave-hunters, I could only regard him in that category, as I had actually found him in the act. I must, therefore, insist upon the immediate and unconditional release of all the slaves. After an attempt at evasion, he consented, and I at once determined to liberate them personally, which would establish confidence among the natives.

"Accompanied by Lieutenant Baker and Mr. Hig-

ginbotham, and the various officers of the staff, I ordered the ropes, irons, and other accompaniments of slavery to be detached; and I explained through an interpreter to the astonished crowd of captives, that the Khedive had abolished slavery, therefore they were at liberty to return to their own homes. At first, they appeared astounded, and evidently could not realise the fact; but upon my asking them where their homes were, they pointed to the boundless rows of villages in the distance, and said, 'Those are our homes, but many of our men are killed, and all our cattle and corn are carried off.' I could only advise them to pack off as quickly as possible, now that they had the chance of freedom.

"The women immediately took up their little infants (one had been born during the night), others led the very small children by the hand, and with a general concert, they burst into the long, quavering and shrill yell that denotes rejoicing. I watched them as they retreated over the plain to their deserted homes, and I took a coldly polite farewell of the Koordi. The looks of astonishment of the Koordi's troops as I passed through their camp was almost comic. I shall report this affair to the Khedive direct; but I feel sure that the ex-

posure of the governor of Fashoda will not add to the popularity of the expedition among the lower officials.

"*April* 23.—I started with two steamers and two diahbeeahs to explore a favourable spot for a permanent station. We reached the Sobat junction in three hours and a quarter, about twenty-five miles. From the Sobat, down stream, we steamed for forty minutes, arriving at a forest, on a high bank to the east, where some extraordinary high dome palms (*palma Thebaica*), together with dolape palms (*Borassus Ethiopicus*), gave an air of tropical beauty to a desolate and otherwise uninviting spot.

"I fixed upon this place for a station as the ground was hard, the position far above the level of high floods, and the forest afforded a supply of wood for building purposes and for fuel.

"*April* 24.—We steamed for half an hour down stream to a large village on the west bank, named Wat-a-jook. Thence I went down stream for one hour to the large grove of dolape palms and gigantic India-rubber trees. This was formerly a large village, known as Hillet-el-dolape, but it has been entirely destroyed by the governor of Fashoda. After much difficulty, I induced some natives to come to me, with whom I at length made friends:

the all joined in accusing the Koordi governor of wanton atrocities.

"In the afternoon, not having discovered a spot superior to that I had already selected for a station, we returned; but we had not travelled more than an hour and a half when the engine of the No. 10 steamer broke down. On examination, it appeared that the air-pump was broken. Fortunately the accident occurred close to the spot selected for a station.

"*April* 25.—At 12.30 P.M. I sent back the No. 8 steamer to call the fleet to the station. I soon made friends with the natives, great numbers of whom congregated on the west bank of the river. All these people had heard that I had liberated the women and children.

"*April* 26.—The steamer and entire fleet arrived in the afternoon.

"The natives brought a bullock and a Pongo slave as a present from their chief. I freed the slave, and sent a piece of cloth as an introduction to the chief.

"*April* 27.—This was a busy day—passed in measuring out the camp. I set several companies at work to fell the forest and to prepare timber for building.

"*April* 28.—Pouring rain. No work possible.

"*April* 29.—The Englishmen set up their forge and anvil; and we commenced unloading corrugated iron sheets to form our magazines. Fortunately, I had a number of wall-plates, rafters, &c., that I had brought from Egypt for this purpose, as there is no straight wood in the country.

"The sheik or head of the Shillook tribe sent envoys with a present of four bullocks and two small tusks, with a message that he wished to see me, but he was afraid to come. I accordingly sent the messengers back in the No. 8 steamer with ten soldiers as an escort to bring him to my station.

"*April* 30.—We commenced erecting the iron magazines. Lieutenant Baker, Mr. Higginbotham, and the Englishmen all actively employed, while Raouf Bey and his officers, instead of attending to the pressing work of forming the permanent camp, sit under a tree and smoke and drink coffee throughout the day.

"The artillerymen are nearly all ill; likewise many of the Egyptian regiment, while the black troops are well and in excellent spirits. There is no doubt that for this service the blacks are very superior to the Egyptians: these are full of religious prejudices combined with extreme ignorance, and

they fall sick when deprived of the vegetable diet to which they are accustomed in Egypt.

"In the evening the steamer returned with the true Shillook king accompanied by two of his wives, four daughters and a retinue of about seventy people."

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE CAMP AT TEWFIKEEYAH.

"*May* 1.—The camp is beginning to look civilized. Already the underwood has been cleared, and the large trees which border the river have their separate proprietors. There is no home like a shady tree in a tropical climate; here we are fortunate in having the finest mimosas, which form a cool screen. I have apportioned the largest trees among the higher officers. The English quarter of the camp is already arranged, and the whole force is under canvas. A few days ago this was a wilderness; now there are some hundred new tents arranged in perfectly straight rows so as to form streets. This extensive plot of white tents, occupying a frontage of four hundred yards, and backed by the bright green forest, looks very imposing from the river.

"The English quarter was swept clean, and as

the surface soil on the margin of the river was a hard white sand, the place quickly assumed a neat and homely appearance. I had a sofa, a few chairs, and a carpet arranged beneath a beautiful shady mimosa, where I waited the arrival of the true king of the Shillooks—Quat Kare.

"In a few minutes he was introduced by an aide-de-camp, accompanied by two wives, four daughters, and a large retinue. Like all the Shillooks, he was very tall and thin. As his wardrobe looked scanty and old, I at once gave him a long blue shirt which nearly reached to his ankles, together with a long Indian red scarf to wear as a waistband. When thus attired I presented him with a tarboosh (fez); all of which presents he received without a smile or the slightest acknowledgment. When dressed with the assistance of two or three of the soldiers who had volunteered to act as valets, he sat down on the carpet, upon which he invited his family to sit near him. There was a profound silence. The king appeared to have no power of speech; he simply fixed his eyes upon myself and my wife; then slowly turned them upon Lieutenant Baker and the officers in attendance. The crowd was perfectly silent.

"I was obliged to commence the conversation

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by asking him 'whether he was really Quat Kare, the old king of the Shillooks? as I had heard his death reported.'

"Instead of replying, he conferred with one of his wives, a woman of about sixty, who appeared to act as prime minister and adviser. This old lady immediately took up the discourse, and very deliberately related the intrigues of the Koordi governor of Fashoda, which had ended in the ruin of her husband. It appeared that the Koordi did not wish that peace should reign throughout the land. The Shillooks were a powerful tribe, numbering upwards of a million, therefore it was advisable to sow dissension amongst them, and thus destroy their unity. Quat Kare was a powerful king, who had ruled the country for more than fifty years. He was the direct descendant of a long line of kings; therefore he was a man whose influence was to be dreaded. The policy of the Koordi determined that he would overthrow the power of Quat Kare, and after having vainly laid snares for his capture, the old king fled from the governor of Fashoda as David fled from Saul and hid in the cave of Adullam. The Koordi was clever and cunning in intrigue; thus, he wrote to Djiaffer Pacha, the governor-general of the Soudan, and declared

that Quat Kare, the king of the Shillooks was *dead;* it was therefore necessary to elect the next heir, Jangy—for whom he requested the firman of the Khedive. The firman of the Khedive arrived in due course for the pretender Jangy, who was a distant connexion of Quat Kare, and in no way entitled to the succession. This intrigue threw the country into confusion. Jangy was proclaimed king by the Koordi, and was dressed in a scarlet robe with belt and sabre. The pretender got together a large band of adherents who were ready for any adventure that might yield them plunder. These natives, who knew the paths and the places where the vast herds of cattle were concealed, acted as guides to the Koordi; and the faithful adherents of the old king, Quat Kare, were plundered, oppressed, and enslaved without mercy, until the day that I had fortunately arrived in the Shillook country, and caught the Koordi in the very act of kidnapping.

"I had heard this story a few days before, and I was much struck with the clear and forcible manner in which the old wife described the history.

"Here we have an average picture of Soudan rule. In a country blessed with the most productive soil and favourable climate, with a population estimated at above a million, the only step towards

improvement, after seven years of Egyptian rule, is a system of plunder and massacre. Instead of peace, a series of intrigues have thrown the country into hopeless anarchy. With a good government, this fertile land might produce enormous wealth in the cultivation of corn and cotton. I arranged with the king that he should wait patiently, and that I would bring the affair before the proper authority; in the meantime, his people should return to their villages.

"After a feast upon an ox, and the entertainment of the magnetic battery and the wheel of life, I gave Quat Kare, and the various members of his family, an assortment of presents, and sent them back rejoicing in the No. 8 steamer. I had been amused by the stoical countenance of the king while undergoing a severe shock from the battery. Although every muscle of his arms was quivering, he never altered the expression of his features. One of his wives followed his example, and resisted a shock with great determination, and after many attempts she succeeded in extracting a necklace from a basin of water so highly charged, that her hand was completely cramped and paralysed.

"I have thoroughly gained the confidence of the natives, as vast herds of cattle are now fearlessly

brought to graze on the large island opposite the camp. The natives assure me that all the male children that may be born this year will be called the 'Pacha,' in commemoration of the release given to the captives.

"A soldier was caught this afternoon in the act of stealing a fowl from a native. I had him flogged and secured in irons for five days. I have determined upon the strictest discipline, in spite of the old prejudice. As the greater portion of the Egyptian regiment is composed of felons, convicted of offences in Cairo, and transported to the White Nile, my task is rather difficult in establishing a reformation. The good taste of the authorities might be questioned for supplying me with a regiment of convicts to carry out an enterprise where a high state of discipline and good conduct are essential to success."

I gave the name Tewfikeeyah[1] to the new station, which rapidly grew into a place of importance. It was totally unlike an Egyptian camp, as all the lines were straight. Deep ditches, cut in every necessary direction, drained the station to the river. I made a quay about 500 yards in length, on the bank of the river, by which the

[1] After the Khedive's eldest son, Mahomed Tewfik Pacha.

whole fleet could lie, and embark or disembark cargo. A large stable contained the twenty horses, which by great care had kept their condition. It was absolutely necessary to keep them in a dark stable on account of the flies, which attacked all animals in swarms. Even within the darkened building it was necessary to light fires composed of dried horse-dung, to drive away these persecuting insects. The hair fell completely off the ears and legs of the donkeys (which were allowed to ramble about), owing to the swarms of flies that irritated the skin; but in spite of the comparative comfort of a stable, the donkeys preferred a life of out-door independence, and fell off in condition if confined to a house. The worst flies were the small grey ones with a long proboscis, similar to those that are often seen in houses in England.

In an incredibly short time the station fell into shape. I constructed three magazines of galvanized iron, each eighty feet in length, and the head storekeeper, Mr. Marcopolo, at last completed his arduous task of storing the immense amount of supplies that had been contained in the fleet of vessels.

This introduced us to the White Nile rats, which volunteered their services in thousands, and quickly took possession of the magazines by tunneling

beneath, and appearing in the midst of a rat's paradise, among thousands of bushels of rice, biscuits, lentils, &c. The destruction caused by these animals was frightful. They gnawed holes in the sacks, and the contents poured upon the ground like sand from an hour-glass, to be immediately attacked and destroyed by white ants. There was no lime in the country, nor stone of any kind, thus it was absolutely impossible to stop the ravages of white ants except by the constant labour of turning over the vast masses of boxes and stores, to cleanse them from the earthen galleries which denote the presence of the termites.

I had European vegetable seeds of all kinds, and having cleared and grubbed up a portion of forest, we quickly established gardens. The English quarter was particularly neat. The various plots were separated by fences, and the ground was under cultivation for about two acres extending to the margin of the river. I did not build a house for myself, as we preferred our comfortable diah-beeah, which was moored alongside the garden, from the entrance of which, a walk led to a couple of large shady mimosas that formed my public divan, where all visitors were received.

In a short time we had above ground sweet

melons, water-melons, pumpkins, cabbages, tomatoes, cauliflowers, beet-root, parsley, lettuce, celery, &c., but all the peas, beans, and a very choice selection of maize that I had received from England, were destroyed during the voyage. Against my express orders, the box had been hermetically sealed, and the vitality of the larger seeds was entirely gone. Seeds should be simply packed in brown paper bags and secured in a basket.

The neighbouring country was, as usual in the White Nile districts, flat and uninteresting. Forest and bush clothed the banks of the river, but this formed a mere fringe for a depth of about half a mile, beyond which all was open prairie.

Although there was a considerable extent of forest, there was a dearth of useful timber for building purposes. The only large trees were a species of mimosa, named by the Arabs "kook." We were very short of small rowing boats, those belonging to the steamers were very large and clumsy, and I wished to build a few handy dingies that would be extremely useful for the next voyage up the obstructions of the Bahr Giraffe. I therefore instructed the English shipwrights to take the job in hand, and during a ramble through the forest they selected several trees. These were

quickly felled, and the sawyers were soon at work cutting planks, keels, and all the necessary wood for boat-building. It is a pleasure to see English mechanics at work in a wild country; they finish a job while an Egyptian workman is considering how to do it. In a very short time Mr. Jarvis, the head shipwright, had constructed an impromptu workshop, with an iron roof, within the forest; several sets of sawyers were at work, and in a few days the keel of a new boat was laid down.

The chief mechanical engineer, Mr. McWilliam, was engaged in setting up the steam saw-mills, and in a few weeks after our first arrival in this uninhabited wilderness, the change appeared magical. In addition to the long rows of white tents, and the permanent iron magazines, were hundreds of neat huts arranged in exact lines; a large iron workshop containing lathes, drilling machines, and small vertical saw machine; next to this the blacksmith's bellows roared; and the constant sound of the hammer and anvil betokened a new life in the silent forests of the White Nile. There were several good men who had received a European mechanical education among those I had brought from Egypt; these were now engaged with the English engineers in repairing the engine

of the No. 10 steamer, which required a new piston. I ordered a number of very crooked bill-hooks to be prepared for cutting the tangled vegetation during our next voyage. The first boat, about sixteen feet long, was progressing, and the entire station was a field of industry. The gardens were green with vegetables, and everything would have been flourishing had the troops been in good health. Those miserable Egyptians appeared to be in a hopeless condition morally. It was impossible to instil any spirit into them, and if sick, they at once made up their minds to die. It is to be hoped that my regiment of convicts was not a fair sample of the spirit and intelligence of the Egyptian fellah. Some of them *deserted.*

There is an absurd prejudice among the men that the grinding of flour upon the usual flat millstone is an unmanly task that should always be performed by a woman. This is a very ancient prejudice, if we may judge by the symbols found upon the flat millstones of the ancient Egyptians. We also hear in the Testament, "two women shall be grinding together; one shall be taken, the other left." There was a scarcity of women in our station, and the grinding of the corn would have given rise to much discontent had I not experienced

this difficulty in a former voyage, and provided myself with steel corn-mills. I had one of these erected for each company of troops, and in addition to the usual labour, I always sentenced men under punishment to so many hours at the mill.

Although this country was exceedingly rich in soil, it was entirely uninhabited on our side (the east) of the river. This had formerly been the Dinka country, but it had been quite depopulated by razzias made for slaves by the former and present governors of Fashoda. These raids had been made on a large scale, with several thousand troops, in addition to the sharp slave-hunters, the Baggara Arabs, as allies. The result was almost the extermination of the Dinka tribe. It seemed incomprehensible to the Shillook natives that a government that had only lately made slave-hunting a profession should suddenly turn against the slave-hunters.

I frequently rode on horseback about the country, and wherever I found a spot slightly raised above the general level, I was sure to discover quantities of broken pottery, the vestiges of villages, which had at a former time been numerous. There was very little game, but now and then ostriches were seen stalking about the yellow plains of withered grass. On one

occasion I was riding with Lieutenant Baker, accompanied by a few orderlies, when I distinguished the forms of several ostriches at a great distance. They were feeding on the flat plain where it was hopeless to attempt an approach. I was just replacing my telescope, when I observed an ostrich emerge from behind some bushes, about 400 yards' distance. This was a male bird, by the black colour, and it appeared to be feeding towards the scattered bush on my left. We were at the moment partially concealed by the green foliage. I immediately dismounted, and leaving the party behind the bushes, I ran quickly forward, always concealed by the thick thorns, until I thought I must be somewhere within shot, unless the bird had discovered me and escaped without my knowledge. I now went cautiously and slowly forward, stooping under the bushes when necessary, and keeping a good look-out on all sides, as I expected that the ostrich must be somewhere in the bush. At length, as I turned round a clump of thick thorns, I sighted the bird racing away with immense speed straight from me at about 130 yards. I raised the 150-yard sight of the Dutchman, and taking him very steadily, as the bird kept a perfectly straight course, I fired. The ostrich at once fell with so great a shock

upon the hard, parched ground, that the air was full of feathers. I stepped 130 long paces, and found that the bullet had struck the bird in the centre of the back, killing it instantly. My party came up to my whistle, and I despatched a mounted orderly to camp to bring men and donkeys.

Although I have been many years in Africa, this was the first and the last ostrich that I have ever bagged. It was a very fine male, and the two thighs and legs were a very fair load for a strong donkey.

I have seen erroneous accounts of ostriches designated as two varieties, the black and the grey. The black, with white feathers in the wings and tail, is simply the male, and the grey the female. The feathers of this bird were old and in bad order. The fat is much esteemed by the Arabs as an external application for rheumatism. I found the stomach rich in scorpions, beetles, leaves of trees, and white rounded quartz-pebbles. The bird must have come from a considerable distance as there was neither rock nor pebble in the neighbourhood.

On my return to camp I carved an artificial ostrich head from a piece of wood, and made false eyes with the neck of a wine bottle. I intended to stick this head upon a pole, concealed in a linen

fishing-rod case, and to dress up my cap with thick plumes of ostrich feathers. I have no doubt that it would be possible to approach ostriches in grass by this imitation, as the pole would be carried in the left hand, and all the movements of the ostriches might be easily imitated. The pole in the left hand rested on the ground would make a good rest for the rifle when the moment arrived for the shot.

Heavy rains set in, and the hitherto dry plains became flooded and swampy, thus I never had an opportunity to try my false ostrich.

The Shillooks were now become our firm friends. The camp was crowded daily with natives who came by water from a considerable distance to traffic with the soldiers. Like all negroes, they were sharp traders, with a Jewish tendency in their bargains. They brought raw cotton and provisions of all kinds in exchange for cotton manufactures and iron. Their country consists simply of rich alluvial soil, therefore all iron must be imported, and it is of great value. The best articles of exchange for this country would be pieces of wrought iron of about four ounces in weight and six inches long, and pieces of eight ounces, and eight inches in length. Also cotton cloth, known as grey calico,

together with white calico, and other cheap manufactures. The cotton that is indigenous to the country is short in staple, but it grows perfectly wild. The Shillooks are very industrious, and cultivate large quantities of dhurra and some maize, but the latter is only used to eat in a green state, roasted on the ashes. The grain of maize is too hard to grind on the common flat millstones of the natives, thus it is seldom cultivated in any portion of Central Africa on an extended scale. I gave some good Egyptian cotton-seed to the natives, also the seed of various European vegetables. Tobacco was in great demand by the troops, and I considered the quality supplied by the Shillooks superior to that cultivated in the Soudan.

Although the camp was visited by hundreds of natives, including their women, daily, there were seldom any quarrels over the marketing, and when a disagreement took place it was generally the fault of a soldier, who took something on credit, and pleaded inability to pay. I administered a rough-and-ready justice, and appointed an officer to superintend the bazaar to prevent squabbles.

I was much struck with the honesty of the natives, who appeared thoroughly to appreciate the protection afforded them, and the fair dealing in-

sisted upon on the part of the troops. The river was about 700 yards wide, but the land on the west shore was only a large island, through which several small streams cut deep channels. This island was separated from the main western shore by a branch of the White Nile. The west bank was thickly lined with villages for about 200 miles of river frontage throughout the Shillook country, thus affording admirable opportunities for direct trade with vessels from Khartoum. It was a tedious journey for the natives to visit us daily, as they had to cross first their western branch of the Nile, then to carry their canoes across the island for about a mile, and again to cross the main river to arrive at our camp. The Shillook canoe has often been described. It is formed of long pieces of the ambatch-wood, which is lighter than cork. These curious trees, which grow in the swamps of the White Nile, are thick at the base, and taper to a point, thus a number are lashed securely together, and the points are tied tightly with cord, so as to form a bow. These canoes or rafts generally convey two persons, and they are especially adapted for the marshy navigation of the river, as they can be carried on the head without difficulty, when it may be necessary to cross an island or morass.

Our native traders arrived daily in fleets of ambatch canoes from a considerable distance. The soldiers trusted them with their rations of corn to grind, rather than take the trouble to prepare it themselves. The natives took the corn to their homes, and invariably returned with the honest complement of flour. I never had a complaint brought before me of dishonesty when a Shillook had been trusted. I have great hopes of these people, they simply require an assurance of good faith and protection to become a valuable race.

From the Shillook country to Khartoum the river is superb and can be navigated at all seasons. The northern end of this country is rich in forests of the *Acacia Arabica* (Soont), a wood that is invaluable as fuel for steamers, and is the only really durable wood for ship-building in the Soudan. The rains begin in May, and are regular throughout four months, thus cotton may be cultivated without the expense of artificial irrigation; at the same time the dry summer offers an inestimable advantage for gathering the crop.

The Dinka country on the east bank would have been of equal value, but, as I have already described, it has been depopulated.

There was an old blind sheik who frequently

visited us from the other side, and this poor old fellow came to an untimely end when returning one day with his son from marketing at Tewfikeeyah. I was walking on the quay, when I heard a great commotion, and I saw a splashing in the river, the surface of which was covered with the ambatch fragments of a native canoe. There were many canoes on the river, several of which immediately went to the assistance of two men who were struggling in the water. A hippopotamus had wantonly charged the canoe, and seizing it in his mouth, together with the poor old blind sheik who could not avoid the danger, crunched the frail boat to pieces, and so crushed and lacerated the old man that, although he was rescued by his comrades, he died during the night.

As peace and confidence had been thoroughly established among the Shillooks, I determined to send for the governor of Fashoda, and to introduce him personally to the old king, Quat Kare, whom he had officially reported to be dead. I therefore sent for Quat Kare, and having informed him of my intention, I sent the steamer to Fashoda (sixty-five miles), and invited the Koordi to pay me a visit.

When he arrived, I received him beneath the tree which formed my divan, and after a pre-

HIPPOPOTAMUS KILLS THE BLIND SHEIK IN THE SHILLOOK COUNTRY. Vol. i. p. 118.

liminary pipe and coffee, we proceeded to business. I told him that he must have been in error when he reported the death of the old king, as I had proved him to be still alive. He replied that he did not believe the real Quat Kare was in existence, as he had heard on the best authority that he was dead. I gave an order to an aide-de-camp, and in a few minutes the tall and stately figure of the old king was seen approaching, accompanied by his wives, ministers, and a crowd of most orderly retainers, including several of his sons. The king sat down upon a carpet in a dignified manner, without taking the slightest notice of the Koordi governor. His two wives sat down by him, but his sons stood with his followers a few yards distant.

The Koordi, who was a remarkably handsome old man, with a snow-white beard, sat equally unmoved, smoking the long chibook, without apparently regarding the king or his people. The chibook is a most useful instrument for a diplomat. If the situation is difficult, he can puff, puff, puff, and the incorrigible pipe will not draw; in the meantime, he considers a reply. At length the pipe draws, a cloud of smoke issues from the mouth. "I beg your pardon," says the embarrassed

diplomat, evidently relieved by the little unreal difficulty with his pipe, "what were we talking about?" and having considered his reply, he is ready for argument. The pipe then draws leisurely, the smoke ascends in steady clouds, while he listens to the arguments of the other side. There is no necessity for a too sudden reply. Even if the conversation has ceased, the pipe may be calmly smoked, while the facts of the case are arranged in the owner's mind before he commits himself to an answer.

In the present instance nobody spoke, but the Koordi governor of Fashoda smoked steadily. Presently Quat Kare fixed his eyes upon him with a steady and determined stare, but with his usual immovable features, and he thus silently regarded him during several minutes. "Have I found thee, O mine enemy?" might have been the Shillook king's idea, but he kept silence.

How long this *tableau vivant* would have continued it is impossible to say, therefore I proceeded to business by asking the governor if he knew Quat Kare by sight? He only replied "yes."

At this reply, the king, without altering his position or expression, said, "Then who am I?"

The Koordi raised his eyes for the first time,

and looked at Quat Kare, but said nothing; he only puffed—the pipe did not seem to draw well. At length a fair volume of smoke was emitted, and the Koordi answered by a question: "If you are Quat Kare, why did you hide yourself? why did you not present yourself before me at Fashoda? then I should have known that you were alive."

Quat Kare regarded him fixedly, and he replied slowly, "Where are all my cattle that you stole? where are the women and children that you kidnapped? I considered that if you took my cattle and captured my people, you might probably take *me*, therefore I declined the opportunity."

The Koordi puffed and puffed vigorously, but the long pipe did not draw; something had evidently choked the tube.

It would be tedious to describe the whole dialogue, but there was no question that the old Shillook king had the best of the argument; therefore, after a long discussion, during which the king was continually prompted by his favourite wife, in excited whispers that every one could hear, I examined both the governor and the king upon various points; and came to the conclusion that the governor was a great scoundrel, and the king a very

cunning fellow; at the same time he had been shamefully treated. The Koordi had reported him as dead, and obtained a firman conferring the title of Sheik of the Shillooks upon an impostor, who had been a grand enemy of Quat Kare. Since that time the adherents of Quat Kare had been subject to constant raids and pillage, and the old king was a fugitive, who, if caught by the Koordi, would assuredly have been quietly put *out of the way*.[1]

I decided that the affair must be settled in the following manner:—I explained that I had no jurisdiction in the Shillook country, which was under the government of Ali Bey, the Koordi; but as I held the positive and special orders of the Khedive to suppress the slave trade, I had been compelled to interfere and to release those captives who had been thus shamelessly kidnapped.

With regard to the general pillage of the country instead of direct taxation, the governor would explain his conduct to the Khedive.

With regard to the false report of Quat Kare's death, there could be no doubt that the firman for his rival Jangy had been obtained from the Khedive under false pretences.

[1] Eventually the old king, Quat Kare, was imprisoned at Fashoda, and died in a mysterious manner. There are no coroners' inquests in Central Africa.

I therefore recommended Quat Kare and his sons to go direct to Khartoum, and plead his cause at the divan of Djiaffer Pacha, who was the governor-general of the Soudan, which included the Shillook country; thus, the whole affair was within his jurisdiction. I also explained that I should send an official despatch to the Khedive of Egypt, and also to Djiaffer Pacha, describing the general state of the Shillook country, and the special case of Quat Kare, with a direct report upon the kidnapping of slaves by the government's representative.

At the same time, I assured Quat Kare and his people that the Khedive had only one object in forming a government: this was to protect the natives and to develop the resources of the country. I persuaded the Koordi and Quat Kare to become friends and at once to declare peace; thus, all hostilities having ceased, the responsibility for further disturbance would rest with him who should recommence a breach of the peace.

I advised the Shillook king to forget the past, where there had evidently been a mistake, and he should trust to his application to Djiaffer Pacha, who would speedily give him justice. The Shillook king then replied, without moving a muscle of his features, "If I forget the past, what is to become

of all my cattle that the Koordi has stolen from me? Is he going to return them, or keep them himself, and forget the past? I can't forget my cows."

This practical question was difficult to answer. The Koordi's pipe was out: he therefore rose from his seat and retired, leaving the stoical Quat Kare master of his position, but not of his cattle. I advised him to say nothing more until he should see Djiaffer Pacha, and he would receive a direct reply from the Khedive.

Quat Kare, with his wives and daughters and general retinue, determined to pass the night in our station.

I therefore ordered an ox to be killed for their entertainment. I gave the king a large Cashmere scarf, also one of red printed cotton, and a dozen small harness bells, which he immediately arranged as anklets. His usually unchangeable countenance relaxed into a smile of satisfaction as he took leave, and the bells tinkled at every footstep as he departed.

Quat Kare never eats or drinks in the presence of his people, but his food is taken to him either within a hut or to a lonely tree.

On the following morning both the governor of

Fashoda and the old king returned to their respective homes.

On the 10th May, a sail was reported by the sentries in the south. None of the slave-traders had any intelligence of my station at Tewfikeeyah. The people of Kutchuk Ali, on the Bahr Giraffe, were under the impression that we had returned direct to Khartoum. I was rather curious to know whether they would presume to send slaves down the White Nile during this season, knowing that the Khedive had sent me expressly to suppress the trade. I could not believe that the Koordi governor of Fashoda would have the audacity to allow the free passage of slave vessels after the stringent orders that had been given. Although I had heard that this governor had amassed a considerable fortune by the establishment of a toll per head for every slave that passed Fashoda, I imagined that he would this year make up his mind that the rich harvest was over.

If any vessels should attempt to descend with slave cargoes, they must pass my new station, of which they were ignorant, and the fact would prove the complicity of the governor of Fashoda, as it would substantiate all the reports that I had heard concerning his connivance with the slave-traders.

The strange sail now reported was rapidly approaching on her route to Khartoum, without the slightest suspicion that a large military station was established within four miles of the Sobat junction. If guilty, she was thus approaching the jaws of the lion.

As she neared the station, she must have discovered the long row of masts and yards of the fleet moored alongside the quay. Of these she appeared to take no notice, and keeping well in the middle of the river, she would have passed the station, and continued on her voyage. This looked very suspicious, and I at once sent a boat to order her to halt.

When she was brought alongside, I sent my trusty aide-de-camp, Colonel Abd-el-Kader, on board to make the necessary inquiries. She was quite innocent. The captain and the vakeel (agent and commander of station) were amazed at my thinking it necessary to search their vessel. She had a quantity of corn on board, stowed in bulk. There was not a person beside the crew and a few soldiers from Kutchuk Ali's station.

The vakeel was the same whom I had seen at the station at the Bahr Giraffe, to whom I had given advice that he should not attempt to send slaves down the river again. All was in order. The

vessel belonged to Kutchuk Ali, who now commanded the government expedition sent by Djiaffer Pacha to the Bahr Gazal. She was laden with ivory beneath the corn, which was for the supply of the crew and soldiers.

Colonel Abd-el-Kader was an excellent officer; he was one of the exceptions who took a great interest in the expedition, and he always served me faithfully. He was a fine powerful man, upwards of six feet high, and not only active, but extremely determined. He was generally called "the Englishman" by his brother officers, as a bitter compliment reflecting on his debased taste for Christian society. This officer was not the man to neglect a search because the agent of Kutchuk Ali protested his innocence, and exhibited the apparently naked character of his vessel. She appeared suspiciously full of corn for a boat homeward bound. There was an awkward smell about the closely-boarded forecastle which resembled that of unwashed negroes. Abd-el-Kader drew a steel ramrod from a soldier's rifle, and probed sharply through the corn.

A smothered cry from beneath, and a wriggling among the corn, was succeeded by a woolly head, as the strong Abd-el-Kader, having thrust his long arm into the grain, dragged forth by the wrist a

negro woman. The corn was at once removed; the planks which boarded up the forecastle and the stern were broken down, and there was a mass of humanity exposed, boys, girls, and women, closely packed like herrings in a barrel; who under the fear of threats had remained perfectly silent until thus discovered. The sail attached to the mainyard of the vessel appeared full and heavy in the lower part; this was examined, and upon unpacking, it yielded a young woman who had thus been sewn up to avoid discovery.

The case was immediately reported to me. I at once ordered the vessel to be unloaded. We discovered one hundred and fifty slaves stowed away in a most inconceivably small area. The stench was horrible when they began to move. Many were in irons; these were quickly released by the blacksmiths, to the astonishment of the captives, who did not appear to understand the proceeding.

I ordered the vakeel, and the reis or captain of the vessel, to be put in irons. The slaves began to comprehend that their captors were now captives. They now began to speak, and many declared that the greater portion of the men of their villages had been killed by the slave-hunters.

Having weighed the ivory and counted the

LIBERATION OF SLAVES AFTER THE CAPTURE OF THE SLAVE BOATS. Vol. i. p. 128.

tusks, I had the vessel reloaded; and having placed an officer with a guard on board, I sent her to Khartoum to be confiscated as a slaver.

I ordered the slaves to wash, and issued clothes from the magazine for the naked women.

On the following day I inspected the captives, and I explained to them their exact position. They were free people, and if their homes were at a reasonable distance they should be returned. If not, they must make themselves generally useful, in return for which they would be fed and clothed.

If any of the women wished to marry, there were many fine young men in the regiments who would make capital husbands. I gave each person a paper of freedom, signed by myself. This was contained in a hollow reed and suspended round their necks. Their names, approximate age, sex, and country were registered in a book corresponding with the numbers on their papers.

These arrangements occupied the whole morning. In the afternoon I again inspected them. Having asked the officer whether any of the negresses would wish to be married, he replied that all the women wished to marry, and that they had already selected their husbands!

This was wholesale matrimony, that required a

church as large as Westminster Abbey, and a whole company of clergy!

Fortunately, matters are briefly arranged in Africa. I saw the loving couples standing hand in hand. Some of the girls were pretty, and my black troops had shown good taste in their selection. Unfortunately, however, for the Egyptian regiment, the black ladies had a strong antipathy to brown men, and the suitors were all refused. This was a very awkward affair. The ladies having received their freedom, at once asserted "woman's rights."

I was obliged to limit the matrimonial engagements, and those who were for a time condemned to single blessedness were placed in charge of certain officers to perform the cooking for the troops and other domestic work. I divided the boys into classes; some I gave to the English workmen to be instructed in carpenter's and blacksmith's work; others were apprenticed to tailors, shoemakers, &c., in the regiment, while the best looking were selected as domestic servants. A nice little girl, of about three years old, without parents, was taken care of by my wife.

When slaves are liberated in large numbers there is always a difficulty in providing for them. We feel this dilemma when our cruisers capture

Arab dhows on the east coast of Africa, and our government becomes responsible for an influx of foundlings. It is generally quite impossible to return them to their own homes, therefore all that can be done is to instruct them in some useful work by which they can earn their livelihood. If the boys have their choice, they invariably desire a military life; and I believe it is the best school for any young savage, as he is at once placed under strict discipline, which teaches him habits of order and obedience. The girls, like those of other countries, prefer marriage to regular domestic work; nevertheless, if kindly treated, with a due amount of authority, they make fair servants for any rough employment.

When female children are about five years old they are most esteemed by the slave-dealers, as they can be more easily taught, and they grow up with an attachment to their possessors, and in fact become members of the family.

Little Mostoora, the child taken by my wife, was an exceedingly clever specimen of her race, and although she was certainly not more than three years old, she was quicker than most children of double her age. With an ugly little face, she had a beautifully shaped figure, and possessed a

power of muscle that I have never seen in a white child of that age. Her lot had fallen in pleasant quarters; she was soon dressed in convenient clothes and became the pet of the family.

On June 17, I sent the No. 9 steamer to Khartoum with the post, together with three sons of Quat Kare, who were to represent their father at the divan of Djiaffer Pacha. The old man declined the voyage, pleading his age as an excuse. Mr. Wood also returned, as his health required an immediate change to Egypt. On the 25th, four vessels arrived from the south, two belonging to Kutchuk Ali, one to Agād, and one to a trader named Assaballa, from the Bahr Gazal. The latter had thirty-five slaves on board. The others had heard, by some vessels that had gone up from Khartoum, that I had formed a station near the Sobat, and had captured the vessel and slaves of Kutchuk Ali, thus they had landed their slaves at the Bahr Giraffe station. The Bahr Gazal vessel having arrived from a different direction had not received the information. I seized the boat and cargo, and liberated the slaves.

On board the diahbeeah of Kutchuk Ali were four musicians, natives of Pongo, on the river Djoor. Their band consisted of two iron bells,

a flageolet, and an instrument made of hard wood that was arranged like the musical glasses of Europe. The latter was formed of ten pieces of a metallic sounding-wood suspended above long narrow gourd shells. Each piece of wood produced a separate note, and the instrument was played by four sticks, the ends of which were covered with india-rubber. The general effect, although a savage kind of harmony, was superior to most native attempts at music.

The station of Tewfikeeyah had now assumed an important aspect, and I much regretted that when the time should arrive for our departure to the south it would be abandoned: however, I determined to keep all hands employed, as there is nothing so demoralizing to troops as inaction. At the same time there was a general dislike to the expedition, and all trusted that something might happen that would prevent another attempt to penetrate the marshes of the Bahr Giraffe. There was much allowance to be made for this feeling. The seeds of dangerous disorders, that had been sown by the malaria of the swamps, had now exhibited themselves in fatal attacks of dysentery, that quickly formed a cemetery at Tewfikeeyah.

The Egyptian troops were generally sickly and dispirited, and went to their daily work in a

slouching, dogged manner, that showed their passive hatred of the employment.

I arranged that the sailors should cultivate a piece of ground with corn, while the soldiers should be employed in a similar manner in another position. The sailors were all Nubians, or the natives of Dongola, Berber, and the countries bordering the Nile in the Soudan. These people were of the same class as the slave-hunter companies, men who hated work and preferred a life of indolence, lounging sleepily about their vessels. I quickly got these fellows into order by dividing them into gangs, over which I placed separate headmen, the captains of vessels; one superior officer commanded, and was responsible for the whole.

They only worked six hours daily, but by this simple organization I soon had thirty acres of land cleaned. The grass and roots were burnt in piles, the ashes spread, and the entire field was dug over and sown with barley, wheat, and dhurra. There is a civilizing influence in cultivation, and nothing is so cheering in a wild country as the sight of well-arranged green fields that are flourishing in the centre of the neglected wilderness. I had now a promising little farm of about thirty acres belonging to our naval brigade; and a very unpromising

farm, that had been managed by my colonel, Raouf Bey. The soldiers had never even cleared the rough native grass from the surface, but had turned up the soil in small lots at intervals of about a foot, into which they had carelessly dropped a few grains of corn.

We now found agricultural enemies that were unexpected. Guinea-fowl recognised the importance of cultivation, and created terrible damage. Small birds of the sparrow tribe infested the newly-sown land in clouds, but worse than these enemies were the vast armies of great ants.

These industrious insects, ever providing for the future, discovered the newly-sown barley and wheat, and considering that such an opportunity should not be neglected, they literally marched off with the greater portion of the seed that was exposed. I saw them on many occasions returning in countless numbers from a foray, each carrying in its mouth a grain of barley or wheat. I tracked them to their subterranean nests, in one of which I found about a peck of corn which had been conveyed by separate grains; and patches of land had been left nearly barren of seed.

The large crimson-headed goose of the White Nile quickly discovered that barley was a food

well adapted for the physical constitution of geese, and great numbers flocked to the new farm. The guinea-fowl were too wild to approach successfully; however, we shot them daily. I set little boys to scream from daylight till sunset to scare the clouds of small birds; but the boys screamed themselves to sleep, and the sparrows quickly discovered the incapacity of the watchers. Wild fowl were so numerous on an island opposite the farm that we not only shot them as we required, but on one occasion Lieutenant Baker and myself bagged in about two hours sixty-eight ducks and geese, most of which were single shots in flight overhead.

I found the necessity of re-sowing the land so thickly that there should be sufficient grain to allow for the depredations of our enemies. I set vermin traps and caught the guinea-fowl. Then the natural enemy appeared in the wild cats, who took the guinea-fowls out of the traps. At first the men were suspected of stealing the birds, but the unmistakable tracks of the wild cats were found close to the traps, and shortly after the wily cats themselves became victims. These were generally of the genus *Herpestris.*

When the crops, having resisted many enemies, appeared above ground, they were attacked by the

mole crickets in formidable numbers. These destructive insects lived beneath the small solid clods of earth, and issuing forth at night, they bit the young shoot clean off close to the parent grain at the point of extreme sweetness. The garden suffered terribly from these insects, which destroyed whole rows of cucumber plants.

I had brought ploughs from Cairo. These were the native implements that are used throughout Egypt. There is always a difficulty in the first commencement of agricultural enterprise in a wild country, and much patience is required.

Some of my Egyptian soldiers were good ploughmen, to which employment they had been formerly accustomed; but the bullocks of the country were pigheaded creatures that for a long time resisted all attempts at conversion to the civilized labour of Egyptian cattle. They steadily refused to draw the ploughs, and they determined upon an "agricultural strike." They had not considered that we could strike also, and tolerably hard, with the hippopotamus-hide whips, which were a more forcible appeal to their feelings than a "lock-out." However, this contest ended in the bullocks lying down, and thus offering a passive resistance that could not be overcome.

There is nothing like arbitration to obtain pure justice, and as I was the arbitrator, I ordered all refractory bullocks to be eaten as rations by the troops. A few animals at length became fairly tractable; and we had a couple of ploughs at work, but the result was a series of zigzag furrows that more resembled the indiscriminate ploughings of a herd of wild boar than the effect of an agricultural implement. Nothing will ever go straight at the commencement, therefore the ploughs naturally went crooked; but the whole affair forcibly reminded me of my first agricultural enterprise on the mountains of Ceylon twenty-five years earlier.[1]

The mean temperature at the station of Tewfikeeyah had been

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| In the month of May, at 6 A.M. | | $73\frac{3}{10}$° Fahrenheit | | | | | |
| „ | | at Noon | $92\frac{2}{10}$ | „ | | | |
| „ | June, at 6 A.M. | | $72\frac{3}{10}$ | „ | | | |
| „ | | at Noon | $86\frac{5}{10}$ | „ | | | |
| „ | July, at 6 A.M. | | $71\frac{3}{10}$ | „ | | | |
| „ | | at Noon | 81 | „ | | | |
| During May we had heavy rain during 3 days. | | | | | | | |
| „ | „ | light | „ | „ | 4 | „ | 7 days. |
| „ | June | heavy | „ | „ | 5 | „ | |
| „ | „ | light | „ | „ | 6 | „ | 11 „ |
| „ | July | heavy | „ | „ | 10 | „ | „ |
| „ | „ | light | „ | „ | 4 | „ | 14 „ |

[1] See "Eight Years' Wanderings in Ceylon," published by Longman & Co.

Sickness increased proportionately with the increase of rain, owing to the sudden chills occasioned by the heavy showers. The thermometer would sometimes fall rapidly to 68° Fahr. during a storm of rain, accompanied by a cold rush of air from the cloud. Fortunately I had provided the troops with blankets, which had not been included in their kit by the authorities at Khartoum.

## CHAPTER V.

### EXPLORATION OF THE OLD WHITE NILE.

I HAD long since determined to explore the sudd, or obstructions of the main Nile, in the hope of discovering some new passage which the stream had forced through the vegetation. A Shillook, named Abdullah, closely connected with Quat Kare, had promised to accompany me, and to supply the necessary guides. The river was full—thus I started on 11th August 1870.

The engines of the No. 10 steamer had been thoroughly repaired during our stay at Tewfikeeyah. I had loaded her to the maximum with well-cut "Soont" (*Acacia Arabica*), which is the best fuel; and knowing, by the experience of former years that a scarcity of wood existed near the Bahr Gazal, I had loaded one of the largest vessels (about seventy tons) with the best wood, to accom-

pany us as a tender. I had also filled my diahbeah with selected fuel.

We steamed thirteen hours from Tewfikeeyah, with the tender and diahbeah in tow, and reached the old sudd about twelve miles beyond the Bahr Giraffe junction. The water below the sudd was quite clear from floating vegetation, as it had been filtered through this extraordinary obstruction.

I will not fatigue the reader by a description of this voyage. We were as usual in a chaos of marshes. We found a small channel, which took us to the Bahr Gazal. This swampy and stagnant lacustrine river was much changed since I had last seen it in 1865. It was now a succession of lakes, through which we steamed for several hours, but without discovering any exit, except the main passage coming from the west, which is the actual Bahr Gazal.

This was the third time that I had visited this river. Upon the former occasions I had remarked the total absence of current; this was even still more remarkable at the present time, as the river was not only full, but the surface, formerly clogged and choked with dense rafts of vegetation, was now clear. I sounded the depth of the lakes and main channel, which gave a

remarkable mean of seven feet throughout, showing that the bottom was perfectly flat, and had not been subjected to the action of any stream that would have caused inequalities in the surface of the ground.

When the vessels lay at anchor, the filth of the ships remained alongside, thus proving the total absence of stream. It has always appeared to me that some western outlet concealed by the marsh grass must exist, which carries away the water brought down by the Djour, and other streams, into the lacustrine regions of the Bahr Gazal. There is no doubt that the evaporation, and also the absorption of water by the immense area of spongy vegetation, is a great drain upon the volume subscribed by the affluents from the south-west; nevertheless, I should have expected some stream, however slight, at the junction with the Nile. My experience of the Bahr Gazal assures me that little or no water is given to the White Nile by the extraordinary series of lakes and swamps, which change the appearance of the surface from year to year, like the shifting phases of a dream.

Our lamented traveller, Livingstone, was completely in error when he conjectured that the

large river Lualaba that he had discovered south-west of the Tanganyike lake was an affluent of the Bahr Gazal. The Lualaba is far to the west of the Nile Basin, and may possibly flow to the Congo. I have shown in former works, in describing the system of the Nile, that the great affluents of that river invariably flow from the south-east—*vide*, the *Atbara, Blue Nile, Sobat;* and the Asua, which is very inferior to the three great rivers named.

We have lastly the Victoria Nile of the Victoria N'yanza, following the same principle, and flowing from the south-east to the Albert N'yanza. This proves that the direct drainage of the Nile Basin is from the south-east to the north-west; it is therefore probable that, as the inclination of the country is towards the west, there may be some escape from the lake marshes of the Bahr Gazal in the same direction.

On 21st August, having been absent ten days, during which we had been very hard at work, exploring in the unhealthy marshes of the Bahr Gazal, we returned hopelessly to Teewfikeyah.

The great river Nile was entirely lost, and had become a swamp, similar to the condition of the Bahr Giraffe. It was impossible to guess the ex-

tent of the obstruction; but I was confident that it would be simply a question of time and labour to clear the original channel by working from below the stream. The great power of the current would assist the work, and with proper management this formerly beautiful river might be restored to its original condition. It would be impossible to clear the Bahr Giraffe permanently, as there was not sufficient breadth of channel to permit the escape of huge rafts of vegetation occupying the surface of perhaps an acre; but the great width of the Nile, if once opened, together with the immense power of the stream, would, with a little annual inspection, assure the permanency of the work.

I came to the conclusion that a special expedition must be sent from Khartoum to take this important work in hand, as it would be quite useless to annex and attempt to civilize Central Africa, unless a free communication existed with the outer world by which a commercial channel could be opened. My exploration, in which I had been ably assisted by Lieutenant Baker and Mr. Higginbotham, had proved that for the present it was impossible to penetrate south by the main river, therefore I must make all preparations for

an advance by the Bahr Giraffe, where I hoped that our past labour might have in some degree improved the channel.

The close of August showed a mean temperature of 73$\frac{6}{10}$° at 6. A.M., and 85° Fahrenheit at noon, with seven days of heavy and seven of light rain. Although the station was admirably drained, the climate acted unfavourably upon the people. On 9th September it was necessary for the unfortunate Dr. Gedge, my chief medical officer, to return to Khartoum, as his state of health required immediate change.

Just as the diahbeeah was leaving the station, a vessel arrived from the Bahr Gazal, by which I received a letter from the German traveller, Dr. Schweinfurth. This gentleman, to whom I was quite unknown personally, had the extreme courtesy and generosity to intrust me with all the details of his geographical observations, collected in his journey in the Western Nile Basin.

It was necessary for me to return personally to Khartoum to assure myself that my arrangements should be carried out without delay. I had determined that the expedition should start for the south from Tewfikeeyah on 1st Dec., at which time the Nile would be full, and the wind strong from the north.

As Tewfikeeyah was nearly half way in actual distance from Khartoum to Gondokoro, I trusted that we should have time to accomplish the work of cutting through the marshes, and be enabled to pass the shallows before the river should begin to fall. I therefore sent Mr. Higginbotham to Khartoum to engage vessels; I followed on 15th September, with the No. 10 steamer towing my diahbeeah—and ten empty vessels to bring up a supply of corn.

We reached Khartoum on 21st Sept. at 9.30 A.M., to the astonishment of the governor and population, who could not understand why I had returned. I now met for the first time the Vicomte de Bizemont, who was to accompany the expedition. This gentleman had been intrusted by the Empress of the French with a very gracious token of her interest in the expedition, which he presented as a gift from her Majesty to my wife. I now heard for the first time the startling news of the war between France and Prussia. I found Dr. Gedge alive, but in a deplorable state of health. It was impossible for him to travel north, therefore he was carefully attended by the Greek physician to the forces, Dr. Georgis. I at once saw that there was no hope of recovery. Mr. Higginbotham had been exceedingly kind and attentive to his wants.

I was very well received by my old friend, Djiaffer Pacha, the governor-general, but as usual the work was all behind-hand, and Mr. Higginbotham had been in despair until my arrival. Only seven vessels were forthcoming. I had expected thirty! Thus, it would again be impossible to transport the camels that were indispensable for the transport of the steamers from Gondokoro. This was very heart-breaking. Instead of completing the expedition by a general direct move south with all material, transport animals, stores, &c., in travelling order, the operation would extend over some years, for the simple reason that the government had not the means of transport. Even now the steamers had not arrived from Cairo. The fifteen large sloops had failed to pass the cataract; thus, I was reduced to the miserable open vessels of Khartoum, and even these were of an inferior description and few in number. Fortunately I had brought ten empty vessels with me from Tewfikeeyah, otherwise we should not have had sufficient transport for the necessary supply of corn. However, now that I had arrived, things began to move a little faster. I find this entry in my journal, dated "1st October, 1870. Thermometer, 6 A.M., 80°; noon, 94°. Wind, north. The fact of my having

captured the boats of Kutchuk Ali and Agād with slaves on board, has determined a passive, but stubborn resistance in Khartoum to the expedition. This is shared by the officials.

"Although I wrote to Djiaffer Pacha months ago requesting him to send me thirty vessels, there is not one actually ready, neither are there more than seven to be obtained. Even these are not prepared for the journey. The object appears to be to cause such delay as shall throw me back until the river shall be too low for the passage of the Bahr Giraffe.

"*October* 2.—I wrote an official letter to Djiaffer Pacha, protesting against delay, and reminding him of the Khedive's instructions."

The only authority who, I believe, takes a real interest in the expedition is Ismail Bey, who is a highly intellectual and clever man. This Bey is the President of the Council, and I have known him during many years. He speaks excellent French, and is more European in his ideas than any of my acquaintances.[1]

The action that I had taken against the proceedings of the governor of Fashoda was very distasteful to the Khartoum public. I much re-

[1] Since this was written Ismail Bey has become Pacha, and is governor of the Khartoum province.

gretted the necessity, but I could not have acted otherwise. This complication placed my friend, Djiaffer Pacha, in a most unpleasant position, as the Koordi of Fashoda was his *employé;* it would therefore appear that no great vigilance had been exercised by the governor-general at Khartoum, and suspicions might be aroused that the character and acts of the Fahsoda governor must have been previously known to the Khartoum authorities.

The curtain began to rise, and disclosed certain facts of which I ought to have been informed many months ago, when I first arrived at Khartoum. I heard from Mr. Higginbotham that the principal trader of the White Nile (Agād) had a contract with the government, which gave him the exclusive right of trading throughout certain distant countries. This area comprised about *ninety thousand square miles!* Thus, at the same time that I was employed by the Khedive to suppress the slave trade, to establish commerce, and to annex the Nile Basin, the White Nile countries that were to be annexed had already been leased by the governor-general of the Soudan for several thousand pounds sterling per annum, together with the monopoly of the ivory trade.

A country that was in no way connected with Egypt, and over which Egypt had no more authority than England has over China, had actually been leased out to adventurers of the class known as merchants at Khartoum, but thoroughly well known to the authorities as slave-hunters of the greatest renown.

It was hardly credible that such dust should be thrown in the eyes of the Khedive, after the stringent orders he had given; but Egypt is celebrated for dust; the Soudan is little else but dust, therefore we must make some allowance for the blindness of the authorities. My eyes had evidently been filled with Khartoum dust, for it was only now upon my return from Tewfikyeeah that I discovered that which should have been made known to me upon my first arrival from Cairo to command the expedition. It was the trader and lessee, Achmet Sheik Agād, who had applied to Mr. Higginbotham as a mediator, and he stated clearly a case of great hardship. He had paid annually about 3000*l.* for the sole right of trading. Thus, if he paid rent for a monopoly of the ivory, and the government then started as traders in ivory in the country leased to him, he would be in the same position as a man who rented a cow at a fixed sum per

week, but the owner, nevertheless, insisted upon a right to her milk.

It would be a hard case upon the traders at any rate, even should they trade with equal rights to the government.

There was no actual bartering of merchandise for ivory, neither was any merchandise shipped from Khartoum, except that required as clothing for the people who belonged to the slave-hunters' companies. If an honest, legitimate trade were commenced by the government, and law and order thoroughly established, it would become impossible for the slave-hunters to exist in the White Nile districts. Their so-called trade consisted in harrying one country to procure cattle and slaves, which they exchanged for ivory in other districts. If a government were established, such razzias must cease at once—and the Khartoum traders would be without an occupation.

I had originally proposed that the districts on the White Nile south of latitude 14° N. should be placed under my command; this, for some unexplained reason, was reduced to latitude 5° N., thus leaving the whole navigable river free from Gondokoro to Khartoum, unless I should assume the responsibility of liberating slaves and seizing the slavers wherever I might find them. This power I at

once assumed and exercised, although I purposely avoided landing and visiting the slave-hunters' stations that were not within my jurisdiction. I regarded the river as we regard the high seas.

It was clearly contrary to all ideas of equity that the government should purchase ivory in countries that had been leased to the traders. I was, therefore, compelled to investigate the matter with the assistance of Djiaffer Pacha, who had made the contract in the name of the government. It was then explained that the *entire White Nile* was rented by the traders. The government had assumed the right and monopoly of the river, and in fact of any part of Africa that could be reached, south of Khartoum; thus no trader was permitted to establish himself, or even to start from Khartoum for the interior, until he should have obtained a lease from the government. If Central Africa had been already annexed, and the Egyptian government had been established throughout the country, I should not have complained; but I now found that my mission from the Khedive placed me within "a house divided against itself." I was to annex a country that was already leased out by the government.

My task was to suppress the slave trade, when the Khartoum authorities well knew that their

tenants were slave-hunters; to establish legitimate commerce where the monopoly of trade had already been leased to traders; and to build up a government upon sound and just principles, that must of necessity ruin the slave-hunting and ivory-collecting parties of Khartoum.

It was easy to conceive that my mission was regarded as fatal to the interests of the Soudan. Although the actual wording of the contracts was pure, and the lessees bound themselves to abstain from slave-hunting, and to behave in a becoming manner, it was thoroughly understood that they were simply to pay a good round sum per annum punctually, and that no questions would be asked. There were no authorities of the government in those distant countries, neither consular agents to send home unpleasant reports; thus, when fairly away from all restraint, the traders could act as they pleased. It appears hardly credible that, although the wording of the contracts was almost holy, no examination of the vessels was made before their departure from Khartoum. Had the Soudan government been sincere in a determination to lease out the White Nile for the purpose of benefiting the country by the establishment of legitimate commerce, surely the authorities would have convinced them-

selves that the traders' vessels contained cargoes of suitable merchandize, instead of being loaded with ammunition, and manned by bands of armed pirates.

If the owner of a pack of wolves were to send them on a commission to gather wool from a flock of sheep, with the simple protection of such parting advice as "Begone, good wolves, behave yourselves like lambs, and do not hurt the mutton!" the proprietor of the pack would be held responsible for the acts of his wolves. This was the situation in the Soudan. The entire country was leased out to piratical slave-hunters, under the name of traders, by the Khartoum government; and although the rent, in the shape of large sums of money, had been received for years into the treasury of the Soudan, my expedition was to explode like a shell among the traders, and would at once annihilate the trade. I now understood the reason for the alteration in my proposed territorial limit from the 14° N. lat. to the 5°. Khartoum is in lat. 15° 35′ N. Gondokoro is N. lat. 4° 54′, thus, if my jurisdiction should be reduced to the south of Gondokoro, the usual traffic of the White Nile might continue in the north during my absence in the south, and the original contracts would be undisturbed.

It is a duty that I owe to the Khedive of Egypt to explain these details. It would at first sight

appear that the expedition to suppress the slave-trade was merely a theatrical announcement to court the sympathy of Europe, but which, in reality, had no solidity. I am perfectly convinced that the Khedive was thoroughly sincere in his declared purpose of suppressing the slave-trade, not only as a humanitarian, but as an enlightened man of the world, who knew, from the example of the great Powers of Europe, that the time had arrived when civilization demanded the extinction of such horrors as were the necessary adjuncts of slave-hunting. The Khedive had thus determined to annex the Nile Basin, and establish his government, which would afford protection, and open an immense country to the advantages of commerce. This reform must be the death-blow to the so-called traders of Khartoum, who were positively the tenants of the governor-general of the Soudan.

The expedition of the Khedive, launched with admirable determination on his part, was thus inimical to every local interest, and was in direct opposition to public opinion. It was therefore a natural consequence that pressure should be exerted by every interest against the governor-general of the Soudan. Djiaffer Pacha was an old friend of mine, for whom I had a great personal regard, and I regretted the false position in which both he and I were placed.

My title and position as governor-general of Central Africa to a certain extent weakened his authority.

He had by the force of circumstances, and according to former usages, so far tolerated the acts of the White Nile traders as to acknowledge them as contracting parties with his own government. The most important lessee had no less than ten stations situated within the territory under my jurisdiction, for which he was paying a large annual rent. I knew, and the lessee, Achmet Sheik Agād, well knew, that his so-called trade was simple brigandage. My former travels, as described in "The Albert N'yanza," had led me behind the curtain, and the traders were well aware that I knew every secret of their atrocities; thus my reappearance upon the scene with the rank of pacha and major-general, at the head of a small army, together with the possession of absolute and supreme power, threw the entire population into a state of consternation. The traders, as Mohammedans and subjects, trusted to the protection of their own governor-general. Already I had captured their vessels, imprisoned their agents, liberated their slaves, and confiscated the ivory, subject to the decision of the Khedive. Already I had caught the governor himself (Ali Bey of Fashoda) in the act of kidnapping helpless women and children, whom I had immediately

insisted upon liberating, although I had no legal jurisdiction in his province. I simply depended upon the personal support of the Khedive, whose sincerity I never doubted; thus I acted as I firmly believed the Khedive would have desired me to act under the circumstances. The Khedive proved that my confidence in his sincerity was well founded. He at once dismissed from his service and disgraced the governor of Fashoda. These facts cast shadows of coming events. The Soudan authorities were compromised; my interference in the Shillook country was naturally distasteful to the governor-general. Both the government of the Soudan and the traders at Khartoum perceived that I should act in strict accordance with the instructions I had received from the Khedive. There was no hope left, except in delays, that might render an advance impossible with a heavily-laden fleet through the obstructions of the river.

It was necessary to modify the terms of the contract entered into between the governor-general and Sheik Achmet Agād. This trader represented his case to me as one of considerable injustice, which I was forced to acknowledge. As a mark of respect to Djiaffer Pacha, who had originally entered into the contract, I requested him to arrange the terms of the new agreement together with myself in the

public divan. It was argued by Sheik Achmet Agād that the fact of the government being established in countries where he had been independent would cause a great loss to his trade, as it would upset the confidence of the natives, and they would cease to bring ivory for sale. In reality, this argument should be interpreted: "If the government is established, there will be an end to our razzias, and we shall have neither slaves nor cattle to offer in exchange for ivory."

He also justly argued that "it would be unfair should the government purchase ivory from countries already leased for trading purposes to the merchant."

I therefore arranged that, until the expiration of his original contract, no ivory should be purchased by the government.

Also, that instead of the money payment now annually made to the government, the rent should be paid in ivory, at the rate of two-fifths of the amount collected. The ivory was to be delivered and weighed in Gondokoro, at which place the rent was to be paid to the government in tusks.

The original contract would expire on April 9, 1872.

My hands were to a certain extent tied by these engagements, but I resolved that at the expiration of the term I should assume a monopoly of the

ivory trade for the government, on the principle of the fur trade of the Hudson's Bay Company; as it would be impossible to permit the acts of the Khartoum traders, who, I was convinced, would never deal honestly with the natives.

The working representative of Achmet Sheik Agād was his son-in-law—a man named Abou Saood: I had seen this person when at Tewfikeeyah; he had arrived in charge of several vessels from Gondokoro during the rainy season, when the flooded river and strong south wind had allowed the passage of his boats. At that time he had no slaves on board, but I subsequently discovered that upon hearing that I had formed a station near the Sobat, he had discharged a large cargo of slaves at the station of Kutchuk Ali on the Bahr Giraffe, so as to pass Tewfikeeyah in a state of innocence and purity, and thus save the confiscation of his ivory. This man was present at the divan when the final agreement was signed by myself and his principal. He vowed fidelity in so forcible a manner that I entertained serious doubts of his sincerity. An arrangement was entered into, that he was to supply the government troops with beef, mutton, butter, &c., together with the native carriers for the transport of baggage, stores, &c., at an established rate then agreed upon; the provisions were

to be delivered from the resources at his command at his various stations. In the event of any native war, he was to furnish assistance when called upon by the government for irregular troops, of which he had about 1,800 in the districts included in my territory.

I did not admire the personal appearance of Abou Saood. A judge of physiognomy would have objected to the downcast look of humility, the *un*certain squint of one eye, the furtive expression of countenance, added to the ultra-holiness of his ejaculations when called upon for an answer, and the pious cant of his protestation against all wrong-doings. At the same time that he was acting the part of saint, I knew him to be a bird of the same feather as the rest of the White Nile slave-hunters.

Some little diplomacy was necessary to smooth the troubled waters of Khartoum. I made every allowance for the passive obstructiveness of the authorities; it was perfectly natural under the circumstances of a sudden reform that affected materially the interests of the entire population, both high and low. At the same time, it was necessary to win the game. I was much attached to Djiaffer Pacha in his unofficial capacity, as I could never forget the kindness that I had received from him at Souakim

when he welcomed my wife and myself on our return from a long and arduous expedition. He was a perfectly honest man in his dealings, and most generous to all around him. His great desire was to earn a good reputation, thus he was not sufficiently vigilant or severe with the sub-officials throughout the vast territory which he governed.

He had formerly been an admiral in the Egyptian navy, and he had visited England, where he had learnt to respect the English name of "gentleman." To be considered a "gentleman" (which he pronounced in English), was in his estimation a great honour.

I was delighted with the lasting impression that had been made by the manners of our country; and certainly in courtesy and hospitality, Djiaffer Pacha thoroughly represented the qualities of the name he coveted. Whenever we differed in opinion upon official matters, we were always cordial in our private capacity. One evening, at an entertainment that he had kindly given, he amused me with a little anecdote connected with a voyage he had made to Marseilles when in command of a frigate during the reign of Louis Philippe. The vessel was moored close to the quay. In the afternoon a French military band played several airs, which Djiaffer Pacha considered

were performed as a compliment to the Egyptian flag. He therefore determined to return the politeness. Accordingly he summoned his own band, and ordered them to perform in honour of the French who had so warmly received him. With a view to an exhibition of good taste in Marseilles, he selected the "Marseillaise!" as an air that would be recognised and appreciated by the French as a compliment from an Egyptian frigate.

No sooner had the band in full vigour struck up the forbidden air, when a great excitement was produced. Crowds at once assembled on the quay! Loud cheering commenced. A chorus of voices shouted the song of revolution! This was a great success; Djiaffer Pacha was delighted with the effect of his compliment. His band thus encouraged, played still more vigorously, until the harmony was suddenly interrupted by an official visit of the police in strong force. An explanation took place, and the astonished and polite Djiaffer Pacha learnt with horror that he had insulted the French government!

On 6th October the post arrived from Cairo with the astounding news of the battle of Sedan; the capture of the Emperor Napoleon; the revolution in Paris; and the fall of the Napoleon dynasty!

Never were so many grave events condensed in one despatch. I felt much for de Bizemont: he had become a general favourite, and I had received him *con amore* as one of our party. This was a blow too terrible even for his high spirit. He had received the greatest kindness from the emperor and empress, and his loyalty was shown by the deepest grief, and an immediate resolve to give up the expedition, and to return to share the trembling fortunes of his country. We had ourselves received much kindness from the empress. Only a few days before this grave news arrived, my wife had received a token from her majesty, graciously bestowed when she was in power and prosperity; this was now more deeply prized since adversity had fallen so heavily upon her.

De Bizemont had vigorously commenced his work as a member of the expedition by accompanying the sections of the third steamer from Cairo to Berber. The desert journey was intrusted to the great sheik of the Arabs, Hussein Halifa, who had already so notably distinguished himself in the transport of the two steamers that had arrived with Mr. Higginbotham. I was very sorry to say good-bye, and I parted with de Bizemont and his companion, Le Blanc, with sincere regret.

I had now set everything in order; the vessels were loaded. On 10th October, 1870, I find this entry in my journal:—

"Started for Tewfikeeyah. Thankful to be free from that hateful spot, Khartoum. Nothing can exceed the misery of the place at this season. No drainage—mud—dense population, with exaggerated stench. These enemies to civilization have at length vanquished the European settlers.

"Djiaffer Pacha, accompanied by all the big people, came on board to take an official farewell: embracing—bands of music—salutes of cannon—steam up, and off, thank God!—I with a horrid cold and Julian with nasty fever."

We were short of hands for wood-cutting, thus we only arrived at Tewfikeeyah on 22d October. The river was now at its maximum, and had risen at this spot from the lowest level of the dry season, fourteen feet and one inch.

We were now busily employed, as I had arranged to start the first division of the fleet for Gondokoro on the 1st December.

On 25th October several vessels attempted to pass the station with slaves. All were captured and the slaves liberated.

"Many of the women slaves who were released

from the slave vessels at the first capture seemed thoroughly to realize the principle of '*liberté, fraternité, égalité,*' as they ran away during the night, not only with their new clothes recently given them by the government, but they also stole some of the soldier's kit. It is very difficult to manage these people. The fact of their having been kidnapped by the slave-hunters destroys all confidence, and they cannot understand their true position. It is difficult to persuade them that the government has interfered in their behalf simply with a view to their welfare; they imagine that we have some ulterior object in their release; and many have a strong suspicion that they may at some future time be transported to some distant country and sold. They have been so often deceived that they cannot understand the truth; and having been accustomed to brutal treatment, they cannot comprehend the intention of kindness, which they attribute to a wish to deceive them. This is a dreadful state of moral degradation, which nothing but time and patience will overcome."

On 23rd November the wind began steadily from the north. I was nearly ready. Every vessel had been thoroughly repaired, but many were so rotten that the caulking was considered by the

English shipwrights as quite unreliable for a long voyage. I had dragged the iron diahbeeah out of the water, and had substituted new plates in many places where the metal was honeycombed with rust. The plate that had been pierced by the tusks of the hippopotamus was removed, as it proved to be very defective, and could be broken through with the blow of a heavy hammer, therefore it was not astonishing that it had been so easily penetrated by the sharp ivory of so powerful an animal.

When the diahbeeah was re-launched, I had her thoroughly painted inside and out. In the meantime, I had formed a Robinson-Crusoe-like house, comprising two small rooms, open on the river-side, but secured at night and morning by simple Venetian blinds. The three sides were closed with planks. I had paved the floor with the cast-iron plates of the steamer's engine room, thus it was both level and proof against the white ants. The two rooms were separated by a partition with a doorway, but no door.

I had not resided in a house since I first occupied the diahbeeah, ten months ago, as the vessel was more convenient.

On 29th November, at about four A.M., I was

awakened by a noise in the adjoining room. My bedstead was exactly opposite the partition doorway; that of my wife was on the other side of the room. At first I thought the sound proceeded from rats scampering over the tin boxes; but upon listening attentively, I distinctly heard the lid of a metal box opened by some person, and again carefully closed.

After a few moments, I heard another box open, and a sound as though some one was searching among the contents.

Unfortunately my bedstead was the most horrible creaker, in which it was impossible to turn without producing a noise that would create an alarm, should a thief be on the alert.

I always slept with a pistol under my pillow, therefore, I gently grasped the revolver in my hand, and endeavoured quietly to get out of my noisy bed.

The wretched piece of furniture gave the most alarming creak; this was immediately succeeded by a sound in the next room of the sudden closing of a box, and the movement of some person. I could not be sure that it was not Lady Baker, who had perhaps required something from a box, and did not wish to disturb me. This was not likely, and

I felt that no time must be lost, as my bedstead had given the alarm. I therefore sprang out of bed and rushed through the open doorway, just in time to see some person jump through the Venetian blinds on the river side of the house.

To cry out "Who's there?" and to fire a shot was the work of an instant, and jumping after him in pursuit I found myself in darkness, and no one visible outside my house. Where was the sentry? Nowhere!

At the cry of "Guard!" not a soul appeared; the sentry was not to be found. At length after a search, he turned up in the wrong place, looking confused, and confessed that he had been asleep, but awakened by the sound of a shot. By this time a number of non-commissioned officers had arrived, who had been alarmed by the pistol-shot and the cry of "Guard!" The sentry was put under arrest. A search was made everywhere, but no trace of the thief could be found. On making an examination of the premises, we found a dirty shirt that the thief had in his hurry left behind him; this was evidently intended to receive the spoil in lieu of a bag. I could not find the trace of a bullet-mark either upon the planks or upon the Venetian blinds, therefore, I considered that the thief must have been hit, or if missed, the ball must have

passed out as he pushed the blinds aside when in the act of springing through.

I suspected the sentry, who was an Egyptian belonging to the "Forty Thieves." He was stripped and examined, but there was no wound. All the shirts were alike, therefore the shirt in my possession was no clue. My wife had been startled, but she quickly recovered herself; the sentry was flogged, and there the matter ended; we had no London detectives.

## CHAPTER VI.

### THE START.

*December* 11.—The first division of the fleet, composed of eight vessels, had started, according to my previous arrangement, on 1st inst. Every third or fourth day another division followed the advance, until on the 11th I brought up the rear, and completed the departure with twenty-six vessels, including the No. 10 steamer and my diahbeeah. The wind was fair from the north.

The extensive and neat station of Tewfikeeyah was completely dismantled. The iron magazines and their contents were now safely stowed in the various ships, and were already on their voyage towards Gondokoro. The horses were shipped and the stables had been pulled down, and the wood cut up for fuel. The long rows of white tents had vanished, and little remained of the station except a few rows of deserted

huts. It seemed extraordinary that so large a place could be packed up and stowed away among the fifty-nine vessels of the fleet.

The English shipwrights had constructed three very useful boats, each exactly the same size, about 16 ft. × 5 ft.; thus we had a total of seven small boats to assist in the explorations of the obstructed river.

I left the Shillook country at peace. Djiaffer Pacha had paid much attention to the sons of Quat Kare at Khartoum, and the Khedive, in reply to my representations, had appointed him chief of the country in place of the pretender Jangy. The governor of Fashoda had been condemned to disgrace. I left a handsome present for the old king Quat Kare, and we departed excellent friends. The English party had been reduced by the departure of Mr. Wood, Dr. Gedge, and two servants.

We had been deeply grieved by the sad news of the death of Dr. Gedge, at Khartoum, a few days before we broke up the station of Tewfikeeyah. This unfortunate gentleman was a great loss to the expedition, as he was not only my chief medical officer, but combined the scientific attainments of a botanist and naturalist.

I had made every preparation for cutting through

the sudd, and we were well prepared with many hundred sharp bill-hooks, switching-hooks, bean-hooks, sabres, &c. I had also some hundred miners spades, shovels, &c. in case it might be necessary to deepen the shallows. While the whole English party were full of spirit and determined to succeed, I regret to say there was a general feeling of disappointment among the Egyptian troops (including officers) that the expedition was once again in full sail towards the south. Their hearts were either at Khartoum, or sighing for the flesh-pots of Egypt. I had lost many men from sickness during our sojourn at Tewfikeeyah, and the men were disheartened and depressed. This feeling was increased by the unfortunate recurrence of the fast of Ramadan, during which month the Mohammedans will neither eat, drink, nor smoke from sunrise till sunset. The Koran exempts them from the observance of this pernicious fast when on a long journey, but my people preferred to keep it religiously, as it would be a plausible excuse for neglecting work.

The Nile was full and unusually high; this was in favour of the voyage, as success depended upon our crossing the shallows during the flood; it was, therefore, necessary to push on with all speed so as

to reach the shallows which had been impassable last April, before the river should fall.

It will now be necessary to refer to my original journal, as it would be difficult to convey an idea of the voyage by a general description. A few hours after starting, on 11th December 1870, I find this entry:—"Thank goodness, we are off, and in good time, as the river is exceedingly high, although it has already fallen about five inches from its maximum. Mr. Higginbotham has been ill for a long time. Lieutenant-Colonel Abd-el-Kader, my first *aide-de-camp*, although an excellent officer, is almost useless from ill-health; thus the whole work falls on myself and Julian (Lieutenant Baker) personally, and were I not to drive the officers forward from sunrise to sunset, we should not have been off for another two months. These miserable people do not understand energy, and the Ramadan increases their incapacity.

"*December* 12.—At 2.30 A.M., we were hailed when ten minutes within the Bahr Giraffe, by two noggurs (vessels) in distress. Stopped the steamer immediately, and then heard that the No. 15 noggur, their consort, had sunk in deep water, close to this spot.

"At day-break I searched the river, and discovered

the wreck in eighteen feet depth of water. Two good divers worked for about two hours, and recovered three muskets and several copper cooking pots belonging to the soldiers. The story of the reis (captain) is, that she sprang a plank at about 4 A.M., six days ago, while under sail with a light wind, and she filled and sank immediately, the men having barely time to save themselves. Unfortunately, she had on board, in addition to one hundred urdeps of corn (450 bushels), a section of one of Samuda's steel lifeboats; this was placed upon the corn, before the mast, but having an air-tight compartment, it must have floated away in the dark without being noticed.

"The story of the reis is false; there can be no doubt that the crew and soldiers were fast asleep, and the vessel was run into by one of her consorts. Had the people been awake, the least movement of the helm would have run the vessel high and dry in this narrow river, as the banks are flooded, and she was close to the side. As the collision occurred, the people, suddenly awakened from sleep, were seized with panic, and only thought of saving themselves; thus the noggur lies in three-fathom water, and the invaluable section of a lifeboat is lost. The worry and disappointment, together with the loss of property,

occasioned by these people, is beyond all description. Every man detests the expedition. The boats are nearly all old and rotten, and with such wretched material I have to conduct this fleet with 30,000*l.* worth of property. I dread the probable loss of some vessel laden with sections of the lake steamers, in which case the expedition would be ruined in spite of all my care. I trust that the floating portion of the lifeboat may be picked up by some of Agād's vessels in the rear.

"Leaving the hopeless wreck, we continued the voyage at 10.50 A.M., in company with the two noggurs, with a brisk north wind. At 5.20 P.M., we stopped at a forest to collect firewood.

"*December* 14.—Started at 7.30 A.M. Thermometer, Fahrenheit, at 6 A.M., 67°; noon, 85°. This is the lowest temperature we have had.

"Passed a number of our vessels, one having broken her yard. At 12.5 stopped at a forest to fill up with wood. While looking for wood, a soldier found a dead elephant with tusks that weighed about 120lbs. I gave him a present of five dollars, also one dollar to Saat for having recovered from the sunken vessel the cooking pots and muskets.

"Wind very strong from north. The north wind always commences at about 7 A.M. and increases in

power as the sun rises. It sinks together with the setting sun. Although the country is all that we could wish, there is no game. The water-marks upon the trees show that the maximum of the river has been a foot above its present level.

"*December* 16.—Suleiman Effendi's diahbeeah with six horses passed this morning; he left in company with us, as did also the new noggur that passed us yesterday morning; thus there must be gross negligence on the part of the twenty-one vessels still remaining in the rear. Thermometer, 6 A.M., 69°; noon, 88°. We shot seven guinea-fowl.

"*December* 17.—I see four vessels about six miles ahead that are only now making sail! thus they have been stopping for two days. In the afternoon the two diahbeeahs of the Englishmen came up, and gave us the terrible news that one of the vessels had sunk near the mouth of the river Sobat on the day of our departure from Ṭewfikeeyah; this vessel was laden with portions of the steamer of 50-feet.

"I immediately ordered steam to be got up, and at 4.20 P.M we started to return 120 miles to the wreck. It appears that Raouf Bey, with many other vessels, was in company with the lost noggur. To work in this country is simply heart-breaking; the material is utterly worthless, boats, officers, and men are all

alike. The loss of invaluable time is ruinous, and the ignorance of the people is such that they can do nothing by themselves; thus I must be everywhere and superintend everything personally.

"The boatmen say the rats drag out the rags with which the vessels are caulked from within, thus occasioning sudden and dangerous leaks; but in such a case, why does not the captain run his vessel ashore to prevent sinking?

"Before starting, I despatched a letter by a vessel to Suleiman Effendi at the sudd, with orders to commence clearing the channel without loss of time.

"At 7.40 P.M. made out a light ahead, and shortly afterwards we met Raouf Bey's diahbeeah tied to the bank alongside of Achmet Effendi, the bimbashi's vessel. Raouf Bey came on board and confirmed the bad news. They describe the sunken vessel as lying with her stem about a foot below the surface, but her stern is in very deep water. I gave orders for steam to be up at daylight, and we halted for the night, as it is dangerous to travel down stream with a steamer in this narrow winding river.

"*December* 18.—Started at 6.25 A.M. Ther., 68°; noon, 81°. At noon we met Colonel Tayib Agha and twelve vessels. I ordered three of these vessels to

turn back immediately to the wreck, as I am determined to raise her, if possible.

"At 12.37 P.M. we reached the spot where we had passed the first wreck in the Bahr Giraffe. At exactly 2. P.M. we reached the Nile junction. At 6.50 P.M. we distinguished the mast of the wreck above water, almost opposite the Sobat junction, on the west side of the river. Having passed the wreck we reached our old station Tewfikeeyah at 7.30 P.M. Here we found a number of Shillooks, with Quat Kare's counsellor, Abdullah, who were guarding a quantity of corn that I had left in the king's charge, as our vessels were too heavily laden to carry it.

"*December* 19.—Thermometer, 6 A.M., 64°; noon, 79°. I sent Abdullah with orders to the king, Quat Kare, to collect all his people with their ambatch canoes to assist us in raising the wreck.

"The Shillooks have already taken possession of our old station, and have divided it into lots for planting.

"*December* 20.—Thermometer at 6 A M., 66°; noon, 78°; the water in the goolah (cooler), 59°. The wind blows a gale from the north daily.

"I have just heard that Raouf Bey and the two colonels, Tayib Agha and Achmet Effendi, together with about 400 men, actually abandoned, not only the

wrecked vessel and her invaluable cargo, but they also left a section of one of the lifeboats upon the mud bank of the river and forsook it. Such conduct is incredible, and could only be found in this country.

"At 3.15 P.M., the steamer having replenished her wood, we started and arrived at the wreck at 4.35 P.M. After a careful examination we passed the night at the high ground near the Sobat junction.

"The section of the lifeboat is no longer on the mud, but I have no doubt it has been secured by the governor of Fashoda, together with the yard and sail. This entails the necessity of my sending him a letter seventy miles distant to order the return of the boat section immediately.

"*December* 21.—Thermometer at 6 A.M., 63°; water in goolah, 52°. I sent Abdullah Uz Bashi to Tewfikeeyah with a letter to the governor of Fashoda, which the Shillooks were to forward immediately. The letter demands eight oxen, ten sheep, the section of lifeboat saved from the wreck, together with the yard and sail.

"I shot two small antelopes, also some guinea-fowl, francolin partridge, and five pelicans.

"*December* 22.—Waiting for the arrival of Quàt Kare and his Shillooks. Shot two geese and knocked over a large antelope, but lost him in

the high grass. The country is all flooded, except for a space of about a mile from our little camp on the Sobat dubba, which is the highest ground for a great distance, being about fourteen feet above the maximum level of the river. A few Shillooks started off after my wounded antelope, and quickly brought me the head: it was a fine specimen of the new species of *Hippotragus*.

"*December* 23.—I sent the steamer up the White Nile to bring down the wind-bound kyassas (vessels). When she returned with them, all hands were immediately employed in discharging cargo and taking down masts and yards in readiness for operations on the sunken vessel.

"*December* 24.—Thermometer, 6 A.M., 67°; noon, 82.° Abdullah, the Shillook, arrived. The natives have not forwarded my letter to the governor of Fashoda, as they fear to pass certain villages with which they have been lately quarrelling. To-day is the close of the Ramadan fast, and the first of the Bairam, therefore it is kept as a holiday. All my people have turned out in new clothes.

"*December* 25.—Christmas Day. Thermometer, 6 A.M., 65.° We began work at the sunken vessel. By filling the barges with water and sinking them within a foot of the surface, and then securing them

by chains to the wreck, we obtained a firm hold of the wreck. The water having been baled out of the barges, they gradually rose and lifted the vessel several feet. Having thus raised her, we hauled her a few feet nearer the bank, and the day's work concluded by proving that with care and additional force we shall be able to manage her.

"*December* 26.—We continued the same operations as those of yesterday. Having lashed the masts of the barges transversely across the gunwales, to these we attached chains secured by divers beneath the bottom of the wreck. This was not possible yesterday until we had lifted her from the ground. At the same time that we were thus engaged, the men by diving, secured ropes to the heavier pieces of iron sections, and we saved several tons of her cargo, which we placed upon the steamer and upon my diahbeeah. This lightened the wreck, and we then prepared a bed for her by cutting away the abrupt bank, and forming a shelf on the flooded shore in a depth of three feet of water, upon which we might be able to haul her when floated to the surface. We laid out the steamer's purchase with an anchor secured upon the shore, and the day ended successfully by hauling the wreck exactly parallel to the bank, with

her stem and stern-post above the surface. As the current was very powerful, the bow of the wreck had throughout the operation been firmly secured by two anchors laid out up stream. It is very hard work, as we are in the sun from early morning till night. Julian (Lieutenant Baker), being a sailor, is just the fellow for this sort of work, and no other person knows how to make fast the ropes and chains so that they shall not slip. Higginbotham, as usual, is very energetic. Colonel Abd-el-Kader, who is my only reliable Egyptian officer, has been diving all day like a wild duck, and bringing up heavy boxes of rivets which few men but himself can lift. Altogether the men have worked famously, especially the black soldiers.

"*December* 27.—Julian is laid up with fever to-day; this is the effect of daily exposure to the sun. I laid out the steamer's second purchase at right angles fastened to the bow of the wreck; we thus had her bow and stern secured in the same manner. Having manned both purchases, we could manage her as she became lighter. About 250 Shillooks came to assist us under the command of old Quat Kare, who sat in his canoe and directed his people. Having lightened the vessel by taking out more cargo, I divided the labour; Higgin-

botham sinking two kyassas and making them fast as lifters, while other men cut away the flooded bank with spades and improved the shelf.

"After breakfast, the sunken kyassas being well secured to the wreck with chains, we baled them out for the last time, and the vessel thus supported came bodily to the surface. All hands now hauled on the purchases, while the Shillooks, with screams and yells, tugged at four ropes fastened amidships, and we succeeded in dragging the vessel from the river's bed, and placing her upon the new shelf that we had prepared for her in little more than three feet of water. During this time many men had been baling out with large buckets, and now that she was safe, a general rush was made on board to empty the water with every conceivable utensil—gourd-shells, basins, cooking pots, &c.

"When baled out, we discovered and stopped the leaks, and floated her. She was one of the largest and finest vessels of the fleet, perfectly new, and was laden with steamer sections and machinery, the loss of which would have been fatal to the object of the expedition.

"I ran a flag up the mast as a signal to those at the station that she was safe. I then ordered the

steamer to light her fires, and the wreck, together with the two kyassas and my diahbeeah were taken in tow, and delivered at the bank that we had made our head-quarters. Thus we have happily saved the vessel and cargo that had been so disgracefully abandoned, when a large force was at hand to have assisted her.

"During the morning, a vessel arrived from Khartoum, laden with goods on speculation, from a French trader of my acquaintance, Monsieur Jules Poncet. She also brought the section of the lifeboat which my officers had neglected on the wreck, and which the governor had taken to Fashoda.

"*December* 28.—I sent the steamer to Fashoda for the sail and yard of the wrecked vessel. All hands are engaged in caulking ship, re-hoisting yards, rigging, &c., and refitting. Thermometer, 6 A.M., 66°; noon, 81°.

"*December* 29.—Thermometer, 6 A.M., 66°; noon, 81°. Julian and Higginbotham both ill with fever. Vessels progressing.

"*December* 30.—I shot a water-buck at daybreak (*Redunca Ellipsyprimna*). Yesterday evening, Quat Kare and his two favourite wives came to take leave. I gave him a musical box and a meerschaum pipe, with a lovely woman's face carved on the

bowl. He was very much amused with the idea of the smoke issuing from the head. I also gave his wives some grey calico, red handkerchiefs, and gaudy ear-rings. They went away delighted.

"At 9 P.M., the steamer's boat came up to report her arrival at Tewfikeeyah. I immediately sent off a kyassa to join her for a cargo of wood.

"*December* 31.—The steamer arrived with the kyassa in tow at 11 A.M., with an immense supply of wood, together with ten oxen and ten sheep from Fashoda. The wreck will be taken in tow by the steamer, as her yard was taken on the day of the accident by Colonel Tayib Agha. She is now the most valuable vessel in the fleet. The new year 1871 commences well.

"*January* 1st, 1871.—At 1.30 P.M., I started the kyassas, having kept back twenty men from their complement of troops to man the vessel we have saved. Abdullah, the Shillook, came, and I gave him an order to receive half the corn that I left at Tewfikeeyah. This is a reward for Quat Kare, for having assisted to raise the sunken vessel with his people. The extraordinary rise in the river this season has destroyed a large portion of the Shillook crops, therefore the present of corn will be most acceptable to the old king.

"*January* 2.—At 8.35 A.M., we started in tow of the steamer. Wind fresh from the north. At 2.40 P.M. we passed the second of the three noggurs that sailed yesterday, and at 3 P.M. we passed the third exactly at the Giraffe junction. We have thus been six hours and twenty-five minutes from the Sobat to the Giraffe junction. Thermometer, 6 A.M., 66°; noon, 86°.

"*January* 3.—Last midnight stopped at a forest cutting wood; we started at 3.50 P.M. One of the rear boats came in sight at 11 A.M., which reached us at 3.40 P.M.

"*January* 4.—At 5.50 A.M. we actually overtook the nine vessels with Tayib Agha that we had left seventeen days ago; these miserable people have thus been wasting their time. The trading vessel of Jules Poncet, that left the Sobat only six days ago, is in sight ahead; thus she has in six days passed the boats that have been twenty-four days from the same starting-point. I took the sail belonging to the wrecked noggur from one, and passed ahead of all, except one that I kept back for repairs while we cut wood at the forest.

"*January* 5.—Arrived at Kutchuk Alï's station at 10.30 A.M., and took in wood. The country is all flooded, and both the natives and the traders are

without corn, the crops having been destroyed by the extraordinary rise of the river. The people have no other grain than the scanty supply yielded by the seeds of the lotus, which they collect from the river. I met several men who had formerly served under Ibrahim, when we accompanied Khoorshood Agha's party to Unyoro many years ago.

"*January* 6.—Cutting wood. I wrote to Colonel Tayib Agha, desiring him to take in as much fuel as his vessels can stow, as there is no wood ahead. The vakeel of the station supplied five cows and six goats. I gave him five urdeps of dhurra (22 bushels). We started at 4 P.M.

"*January* 7.—During the night, at 12.40 A.M., to my intense disgust, we passed a great number of our vessels with Raouf Bey. Shortly after, we passed others, together with the boat of Achmet Effendi, bimbashi. These officers and people are incorrigible; they have idled their time on the road to such an extent that I can only conclude it is done purposely. We wasted about an hour during the night in stopping to make inquiries.

"At 11.30 A.M., we passed the solitary ambatch bush on the west bank where the steamer smashed her paddle last year. The wind is strong from the north. Last year we were five hours from the am-

batch bush to the dubba. We shall therefore arrive to-day at about 4 P.M. We have been exactly 19½ hours steaming from Kutchuk Ali's station to the ambatch. We left Tewfikeeyah at 11 o'clock; we have therefore been twenty-seven days to the spot at the dubba that we should reach this evening. Last year we left Khartoum on 8th February, and we arrived at the station in the following order:—

"February 15th—Fashoda. 16th—Sobat junction. 18th—Bahr Giraffe junction. March 2nd—arrived at the forest beyond Kutchuk Ali's station. This is the same spot where we overtook Raouf Bey last night, he having left Tewfikeeyah on 11th December. Thus he has been twenty-six days from Tewfikeeyah in reaching the spot this year which he arrived at from the great distance of Khartoum in our former voyage in twenty-two days! Last year the fleet was fourteen days on the voyage from the Sobat to the above spot; this year they have been twenty-six days! I believe thoroughly that they delay purposely, in the hope of thwarting the expedition.

"Last year the whole fleet assembled at the dubba in twenty days from Fashoda.

"We arrived at the dubba at 5.30 P.M., having been delayed two hours by obstructions and rapids.

"*January* 8.—We cut through a horrid accumu-

ARRIVAL AT THE STOPPAGE—THE BALENICEP

lation of floating rafts that have filled the open space of last year between the dubba and the mouth of our old channel. This being completed, I ordered the boats to keep in close line until the arrival of the main body, otherwise the floating rafts would again block up the channel should the boats proceed.

"*January* 9.—Hauled the dingy over the marsh, and explored the old channel for a distance of fifty minutes. Thank goodness, this was clear to that point, a distance of about two miles; but at length we were stopped by vegetation. The latter is of a light character, and can be easily removed. Clouds of mosquitoes; the dew very heavy at night.

"Shot a *Baleniceps Rex*, with rifle.

"*January* 10.—At day-break we distinguished eight sail on the northern horizon.

"*January* 11.—Brisk north wind. Raouf Bey arrived in the evening.

"*January* 12.—Started and passed the choked river with much difficulty, and entered the channel of last year's clearing.

"*January* 13.—We only made about two miles yesterday and to-day, being stopped by vegetation.

"*January* 14.—Cutting partially, but the channel is much improved since last year. Made two and a half miles.

"*January* 15.—Made three-quarters of a mile, and having reached the lake Timsah (crocodile lake) we found the river blocked up; we therefore cut our way into an open but shallow channel which last year was impassable from want of depth.

"*January* 16.—The diahbeeah went ahead, but the steamer and heavy vessels were much delayed by shallows. I went on and determined upon the passage, the open lake being visible about 600 yards distant.

"*January* 17.—Made about 300 yards of heavy cutting through rafts of vegetation. The lake of last year nearly choked up; about 100 acres of rafts having completely destroyed it.

"*January* 18.—Cut about 350 yards, and at 3.30 P.M. we entered the lake. From the mast-head it appears that an unbroken sheet of water now exists for some miles. I trust this may be true, and that no mirage deceives us.

"*January* 19.—Sailed four miles, at which place we found a new channel coming from the south, while our channel of last year from south-east appeared to be closed at half a mile distance. Explored the new channel for about two miles; in appearance it was a river of 200 or 300 yards wide. At length we arrived at a sudd of small dimensions

with open water beyond. We returned to the junction, and passed the night at a sudd half a mile up our old channel.

"*January* 20.—At 7 A.M. I took the dingy, and with much difficulty I pushed about a mile through the grass until I found the whole country closed by vegetation. I think the river has opened a new channel, and that the passage of yesterday will take us to nearly the same spot above the sudd that we reached by another route last year.

"Many vessels having arrived, I visited the Englishmen and physicked Ramsall and Mr. Higginbotham. At 4.15 P.M. we started, poling round the angle to enter the new channel discovered yesterday. In the evening we all sailed with a light breeze, and found the river open for three and a half miles ahead. Halted for the night.

"*January* 21.—The river being closed ahead, I took the dingy, and after much trouble succeeded in reaching our old channel in the clear river. Having started at 7 A.M., I returned at 1 P.M. I had sounded the channel the whole distance, and I have determined to cut a passage through to-morrow.

"*January* 22.—Cut 350 yards through heavy sudd. Last year this piece was 600 yards. We at

length reached the small lake where we last year had buried the two artillerymen in an ant-hill.

"*January* 23.—I took the diahbeeah a mile and a quarter up the river, while the fleet was being squeezed through our spongy channel.

"*January* 24.—Yesterday the five vessels that were left behind by Raouf Bey arrived, and the fleet assembled.

"I am in great anxiety about Tayib Agha who has twelve vessels with him, none of which are yet in sight.

"This black colonel is not clever, and should an accident occur, he will be at a loss how to act. Julian is unwell with fever, but Higginbotham is better.

"I went a long way in the dingy, and succeeded in finding the true channel of the stream by probing with the twelve-foot pole through the grass. To-morrow we shall begin cutting, as the whole country is closed.

"The tree that marks the open water of last year is about a mile and a half distant. There is a solitary dry spot near this, the heart of desolation—a raised tumulus of about half an acre, like the back of a huge tortoise, is raised about five feet above the highest water level. Upon this crocodiles love to bask in undisturbed sleep.

"*January* 25.—The men cut about 300 yards.

"*January* 26.—We again accomplished about 300 yards, and pushed the vessels within the channel.

"*January* 27.—We are thankful for a comparatively open ditch, deep, but covered with grass, through which the diahbeeah cut her path by sailing before a strong breeze, and we entered the lake at 11.20. A.M. There is no change here since last year. The steamer and fleet are close up, but there is a little deepening necessary at the mouth of the channel. The diahbeeah went ahead for six miles along the lake and broad river, and anchored for the night.

"*January* 28.—With a light breeze, the diahbeeah sailed four miles, and stopped at the three dubbas, whence we turned back last year. Even now there is only three feet and a half of water, and we shall have great trouble. Our fisherman, Howarti, caught a great haul of fine boulti with the casting-net.

"*January* 29.—I shot some ducks and geese. A slight shower fell in early morning. I explored about seven miles of the river in advance. The depth is very unsatisfactory, varying from shallows to deep channels.

"*January* 30.—The fleet joined in sections during last night and to-day. Set to work with the long-

handled hoes, and cut a channel through the shallows for fifty yards, and took the vessels forward.

"*January* 31.—Cut a channel through the shallows, but we could not get the steamer along.

"*February* 1.—About 1,200 men at work cutting a channel and towing the steamer and noggurs through. The diahbeeah and two noggurs passed ahead for about a mile. We then stopped to await the steamer and other vessels that were delayed by the powerful current.

"*February* 2.—Stopped all day waiting for the steamer about a mile ahead of the noggurs. When we left the dubba, I had left a letter in a bottle, addressed to Tayib Agha, to order him to come on without delay, and deepen the channels we have cut, should it be necessary.

"*February* 3.—The steamer came up at 10 A.M. At 10.45 the diahbeeah made sail, and after two miles was delayed by a small sudd. Care must be taken to sail by the west branch of the two streams, as there is no water in the east channel.

"For six miles we have had nothing but shallows. Even at this season there is only a depth of four feet in many places, and a month hence the river will be impassable.

"Tayib Agha's boats are in sight, about four miles

distance, bearing north. We cut through the small sudd, and in a quarter of a mile we arrived at an open water, very shallow: in many places only three feet deep. Stopped for the fleet, and upon arrival of the steamer and others, I had marked out the channel to be cleared. The men set to work immediately. I then passed ahead with the diahbeeah for about a mile and a half, the depth of water, as usual, varying, but often as low as four feet. We were at length stopped at the confluence of two channels, each shallow. The sun was setting, therefore we halted for the night. A buffalo crossed the river about 200 yards ahead.

"*February* 4.—I took the dingy early in the morning and explored both channels; that on the right has no water beyond a depth of about two feet. The left is the true stream, but the depth in some places is only three feet; thus there is more work for the men upon their arrival. Had we arrived here a month earlier, we could have just passed the shallows, as our vessels draw an average of a little over four feet. No vessels should arrive here later than 1st of January; the entire river is a ridiculous imposition; a month later, the bed will be nearly dry. A mile ahead, both channels are closed by a sudd of vegetation, we must thus wait until the

boats arrive. Altogether the entire journey by the Bahr Giraffe is a painful absurdity, and my expedition will be fruitless in all but geographical results, unless the authorities of the Soudan will clear the main channel of the White Nile.

"*February* 5.—None of the vessels arrived yesterday. I went back and found them in a terrible fix, as the water is leaving us rapidly, and we must cut a fresh channel through the sand, about one hundred yards long.

"*February* 6.—I took the diahbeeah a mile and a quarter ahead to a sudd, passing over several shallows of only two feet eight inches, and three feet, which will again cause great delay and labour. I returned to the fleet, and assisted in the tedious work of dragging the vessels over the shallows. In the evening I returned to the diahbeeah, and having dragged the dingy across the sudd, I explored the channel ahead for an hour, for about three miles; passed over distressing shallows for a space of a quarter of a mile ahead of the diahbeeah, after which I entered a deep, narrow channel with very rapid current.

"It is quite impossible to say where we are, as the professed guides seem to know nothing of this horrible chaos, which changes its appearance constantly. It is most harassing.

"*February* 7.—Last evening I brought the diabeeah back to the fleet, so as to push the work forward personally. The soldiers and officers hope we shall return as failures, in the same manner as last year. I have, therefore, informed them and Raouf Bey officially, that no boats shall retreat, but that should the river run dry, they shall remain here until the rise of the water during the next wet season, when they shall go on to Wat-el-Shambi. This decision has frightened them, and they are working to-day with better spirit.

"I unpacked and served out a hundred spades for digging channels; and I have ordered them to commence to-morrow morning, and dig out a straight passage for the thirty-one vessels that still remain in the shallows.

"*February* 8.—This is the date of departure last year from Khartoum; an inconceivable madness, had any one known the character of the river. All hands as usual tugging, hauling, and deepening the river with spades and hoes; but the more we dig, the faster the water runs out of the bed, which threatens to leave us high and dry.

"*February* 9.—The work as usual. All hands thoroughly disgusted. I am obliged to lighten the vessels by discharging cargo in the mud. Our

waggons make excellent platforms for the luggage. Even with this assistance we only drew seven vessels through the shallows into the true river channel.

"To-morrow we must discharge more cargo.

"The anxiety of leading 1,600 men, and fifty-eight vessels with heavy cargoes through this horrible country is very distressing.

"When I shall have succeeded in dragging the vessels into the true channel, I shall construct a dam in the rear, so as to retain the water at a higher level. I have no doubt that a series of such dams will be required to enable us to reach the Nile. Should it be impossible to proceed with the heavy vessels, I shall leave them thatched over as floating stores, with a small guard, until the next wet season shall raise the river level.

"*February* 10.—I gave orders to discharge all cargoes, so that no vessel should draw more than three feet. All hands are now employed at this work, as it is impossible to cut a channel through the sand, which fills in as fast as it is deepened.

"*February* 11.—Twenty-seven vessels passed the diahbeeah, having lightened their cargoes; these vessels must discharge everything at the Khor, one and a half mile ahead, and return to fetch the remaining baggage. The work is tremendous, and

the risk great. The damage of stores is certain, and should a heavy shower fall, which the cloudy state of the weather renders probable, the whole of our stores, now lying on the soft mud, will be destroyed.

"To-day I cut a deeper channel near the diahbeeah, and divided the men into gangs on the various shallow spots, to tow each boat past as she may arrive. The steamer is hard and fast, although she has discharged everything, and she must be literally dug out of the passage."

*March* 9.—From February 11 to this date we had toiled through every species of difficulty. The men had cut one straight line of canal through a stiff clay for a distance of 600 yards. Many were sick, some had died; there appeared to be no hope. It was in vain that I endeavoured to cheer both officers and men with tales and assurances of the promised land before them, should they only reach the Nile. They had worked like slaves in these fetid marshes until their spirits were entirely broken,—the Egyptians had ceased to care whether they lived or died.

The enormous quantity of machinery, iron sections of steamers, supplies, &c., had actually been discharged from fifty-eight vessels. The river had fallen still lower, and upon the quickly sun-baked surface I

made a road, and having set up my waggons, I conveyed the great mass of cargo across the land by a short cut, and thus reached my long line of vessels, and reloaded them after great labour. The waggons were then taken to pieces and re-shipped. It would be wearying to give the journal of every incident during this trying period, but from the description already given, the fatigue and anxiety may be imagined. Thank God, I seemed to bear a charmed life. From morning till night I was exploring in a small boat through mud and marsh, but I was completely fever-proof. My wife was also well. Lieutenant Baker and Mr. Higginbotham had suffered frequently from fever, but these energetic officers rendered me most important service. While I was ahead exploring, sounding, and planning out the route, Lieutenant Baker was commanding and directing the steamer, which appeared more like a huge stranded whale among the rushes than an object adapted for the navigation of this horrible country. I had a first-rate crew on my diahbeeah, and some picked men of the "Forty Thieves" who always accompanied me. The best and most devoted man that I have ever seen was a corporal of the "Forty Thieves" named Monsoor. This man was a Copt (Christian descendant of the true Egyptians); he was rather

short, but exceedingly powerful; he swam and dived like an otter, and never seemed to feel fatigue. He was always in good health, very courageous, and he accompanied me like my own shadow; he seemed to watch over me as a mother would regard an only child. In fact, this excellent man appeared to have only one thought and object.

I had been as usual exploring far ahead of the toiling and labouring fleet, when, after pulling our little boat with fourteen men for several hours over a great mass of high, floating grass, we suddenly emerged upon open water. We at once took to our boat, and hoisted the sprit-sail. The men stowed themselves as ballast in the bottom. The wind was strong from the north, and we travelled at about five miles per hour, the lake expanding as we rounded a promontory until it attained a width of about half a mile. Following the course of the lake for about five miles, we found a river flowing directly into the long-sought channel. Only one mile and a quarter from the lake, by this small river, we entered the great White Nile! I cannot describe my joy and thankfulness. My men shared my feelings. We all drank water from the turbid river, so unlike the marsh-filtered water of the swamps; and as each man washed his hands and

face in the noble stream, he ejaculated from his heart, "El hambd el Illah!" ("Thank God!") I also thanked God. It was an hour after dark when we returned that night, after much difficulty, to my diahbeeah, to which we were guided by a lantern at the mast-head, thoughtfully placed there by my wife's orders. The good news made all happy. We had actually that day drunk water from the White Nile.

The great difficulty remained of bringing the fleet into the large lake that communicated with the river. After all the labour of the last two months, I had succeeded in assembling the entire fleet in a sort of shallow pond, from which there was actually no exit. I had certainly escaped from this place by dragging the little dingy over about a mile of frightful sudd; but although this sudd covered deep water, it appeared to be shut out from us by solid mud, through which numerous streams percolated, the largest of which was about three feet broad and six inches deep. These small drains concentrated in a narrow ditch, which was the principal feeder of the pond, in which, with such infinite trouble, the fleet had been assembled. It was an anxious moment, as it would be necessary to cut a canal through solid mud for a great distance

before we could reach the lake; and as we had made a free exit for the water behind us, while it only slowly oozed through before us, we stood a fair chance of being left helplessly aground.

On the following morning, the good news of the discovery of the White Nile flew through the expedition. Many did not believe it, but considered it was a dodge to induce them to extra exertion. I immediately gave orders for a channel to be opened through the mud and large obstruction into the lake. After some days' hard work, a passage was completed that was sufficiently deep to admit the diahbeeah. It required a whole day to force her through this narrow channel, and in the evening we entered the lake, and hoisted the flag at the end of the tall yard, as a signal to the fleet that we had accomplished the passage.

It was now only necessary to work hard and improve the channel sufficiently to admit the passage of the steamer and heavier vessels.

Unfortunately my fears had proved correct; the fleet was hard and fast aground! The steamer was so helplessly deserted by the water, that she would have served for a Nilometer upon which to mark the level, like the rock at Assouan. It was simply impossible to move her, as she was as solidly fixed

as a church. Every other vessel of the fleet stood high out of the water, which had run out by the clear channel we had opened for our advance.

The officers and men were in consternation. With the prize within our grasp, it would be physically impossible to proceed! These sort of people are soon disheartened, and I made great allowance for them, as the work of the last two months had been sufficient to destroy all energy.

I at once determined to make a dam behind the vessels so as to inclose the position in which we lay like a mill-pond. Common sense assured me that this must succeed in raising the level, provided we could construct a dam of sufficient strength to bear the pressure of water.

I had a great quantity of fir timber in the shape of beams and rafters for building purposes. I therefore instructed Mr. Higginbotham to prepare two rows of piles which were to be driven across the river. This able engineer set to work with his usual energy, assisted by Lieutenant J. A. Baker and the Englishmen, together with all the mechanics that had been brought from Cairo.

The piles were driven with some difficulty, and diagonal struts were fastened from the top of the front row to the base of the rear. Hori-

zontal beams then secured the entire line of skeleton bridge.

For two days 1,500 men were employed in making fascines of long, thick reeds tied in large bundles, in the centre of which was concealed a mass of about fifty pounds of stiff clay. These bundles were firmly lashed with twisted rushes. I had 500 corn sacks filled with sand and clay, these were to form the foundation of the dam, and to prevent the water from burrowing beneath.

Every company of troops had to prepare a certain number of fascines, which were piled on the side of the river, which had now exposed solid banks overgrown with the high reedy grass. This immensely long and thick grass, resembling sugar-canes, was exactly the material that we required. It was this grass that created natural obstructions, and would therefore assist us in our artificial obstruction or dam. The sailors of the fleet worked in divisions under separate officers.

On March 13, all the preparations were completed for the work of filling in the dam. Great piles of solid balls of clay, of about 40lbs. each, had been arranged in convenient places to stop up any leaks that should occur.

I stood on one of the stranded boats only a few

yards from the row of piles. The men were all in their places. The buglers and drummers stood upon another vessel ready to give the signal. At the first bugle, every two men lifted the sacks of sand and clay. At once all the drums and bugles then sounded the advance, and 500 heavy sacks were dropped into the row of piles, and firmly stamped down by the men. The troops now worked with intense energy. It was a race between the Soudanis and the Egyptians; this was labour to which the latter were accustomed in their own country. The sailors worked as vigorously as the troops; piles of fascines and clay balls were laid with extraordinary rapidity, while some stamped frantically and danced upon the entangled mass, all screaming and shouting in great excitement, and the bugles and drums kept up an incessant din. A long double line of men formed a transport corps, and passed a never-failing supply of fascines to the workers who stood in the water and kneaded firmly the adhesive mass.

At 2.15 P.M. the river was completely shut in, and the people with increased energy worked at the superstructure of the dam, which now rose like a causeway for about one hundred and ten yards from shore to shore.

At 3.30 the water had risen to an extent that

obliged the men in some places to swim. The steamer that had been hopelessly stranded, and the entire fleet, were floating merrily in the pond. Thank God, I had forgotten nothing in the preparatory arrangements for the expedition. Without the spades, hoes, grass-knives, bill-hooks, timber, &c., &c., we never could have succeeded in this journey.

My diahbeeah was in the lake waiting for the fleet to accomplish the passage. I had made an excursion one day in the dingy to examine the south end of the lake, which I found to be about eight miles in length. On returning, I was rather anxious for the small boat, as a bull hippopotamus made a hostile demonstration. The water was not more than five feet six inches deep; thus as the hippo, after having snorted and sunk, continued to approach the boat, I could distinguish the path of his advance by the slight wave raised upon the surface. He presently raised his head about twenty yards from the boat, but at the same time he received a Reilly explosive shell under the eye which ended his worldly cares.

There were many hippopotami in this lake, and, very shortly after I had killed the first, I shot a second much after the same manner. I always carried a harpoon in the boat with the rope and ambatch float. The latter was painted red, so that

it could be easily observed. I therefore stuck the harpoon in the dead hippopotamus as a mark, and I hastened back to my diahbeeah for assistance, as the flesh of two hippopotami would be very welcome to the people, who had not received rations of butcher's meat for many weeks. On arrival at the diahbeeah we quickly made sail, and soon returned to the hippopotamus. By the time we had cut up this large animal and secured the flesh, the sun was so low that I considered it would be better to fasten the other hippo by a rope attached to the hind legs, and tow it bodily astern of the diahbeeah. It could then be divided on the following day.

In this manner we returned to our anchorage at the tail of the lake, close to the entrance of the new channel. By the time we arrived, the moon was up. The diahbeeah was close to a mud-bank covered with high grass, and about thirty yards astern of her was a shallow part of the lake about three feet deep. A light boat of zinc was full of strips of hippopotamus' flesh, and the dingy was fastened alongside.

After dinner and a pipe, the usual arrangements were made for the night. There were many servants, male and female, on board; these began to suspend their mosquito curtains to the rigging and to creep

beneath ; the sailors, after chatting for a considerable time, dropped off to sleep—until the sentry was the only man on board who was on the alert. I always slept on the poop-deck, which was comfortably arranged with sofas and carpets.

The night was cold, and the moon clear and bright. Every one was wrapped up in warm blankets, and I was so sound asleep, that I cannot describe more until I was suddenly awoke by a tremendous splashing quite close to the diahbeah, accompanied by the hoarse wild snorting of a furious hippopotamus. I jumped up, and immediately perceived a hippo which was apparently about to attack the vessel. The main deck being crowded with people sleeping beneath their thick mosquito curtains, attached to the stairs of the poop-deck, and to the rigging in all directions, rendered it impossible to descend. I at once tore away some of the ties, and awakened the sleepy people. My servant, Suleiman, was sleeping next to the cabin door. I called to him for a rifle. Before the affrighted Suleiman could bring the rifle, the hippopotamus dashed at us with indescribable fury. With one blow he capsized and sank the zinc boat with its cargo of flesh. In another instant he seized the dingy in his immense jaws, and the crash of splintered wood betokened the complete

destruction of my favourite boat. By this time Suleiman appeared from the cabin with an unloaded gun in his hand and without ammunition. This was a very good man, but he was never overburdened with presence of mind; he was shaking so fearfully with nervousness, that his senses had entirely abandoned him. All the people were shouting and endeavouring to scare the hippo, which attacked us without ceasing, with a blind fury that I have never witnessed in any animal except a bull-dog.

By this time I had procured a rifle from the cabin, where they were always kept fixed in a row, loaded, and ready for action, with bags of breechloading ammunition on the same shelf.

The movements of the animal were so rapid, as he charged and plunged alternately beneath the water in a cloud of foam and wave, that it was impossible to aim correctly at the small but fatal spot upon the head.

The moon was extremely bright, and presently, as he charged straight at the diahbeeah, I stopped him with a No. 8 Reilly shell. To my surprise, he soon recovered, and again commenced the attack.

I fired shot after shot at him without apparent effect. The diahbeeah rocked about upon the

A HIPPOPOTAMUS ATTACKS THE BOATS DURING THE NIGHT. Vol. i. p. 210.

waves raised by the efforts of so large an animal; this movement rendered the aim uncertain. At length, apparently badly wounded, he retired to the high grass; there he lay by the bank, at about twenty-five yards' distance, snorting and blowing.

I could not distinguish him, as merely the head was above water, and this was concealed by the deep shadow thrown by the high grass. Thinking that he would die, I went to bed; but before this I took the precaution to arrange a white paper sight upon the muzzle of my rifle, without which, night shooting is very uncertain.

We had fallen asleep; but in about half an hour we were awoke by another tremendous splash, and once more this mad beast came charging directly at us as though unhurt. In another instant he was at the diahbeeah; but I met him with a ball in the top of his head which sent him rolling over and over, sometimes on his back, kicking with his four legs above the surface, and again producing waves which rocked the diahbeeah. In this helpless manner he rolled for about fifty yards down the stream, and we all thought him killed.

To our amazement he recovered, and we heard him splashing as he moved slowly along the river

through the high grass by the left bank. There he remained snorting and blowing, and as the light of the moon was of no service in the dark shadows of the high grass, we waited for a considerable time and then went to bed, with the rifle placed in readiness on deck.

In a short time I heard louder splashing. I again got up, and I perceived him about eighty yards distant, walking slowly across the river in the shallows. Having a fair shot at the shoulder, I fired right and left with the No. 8 Reilly rifle, and I distinctly heard the bullets strike. He nevertheless reached the right bank, when he presently turned round and attempted to re-cross the shallow. This gave me a good chance at the shoulder, as his body was entirely exposed. He staggered forward at the shot, and fell dead in the shallow flat of the river.

He was now past recovery. It was very cold: the thermometer was 54° Fahrenheit, and the blankets were very agreeable, as once more all hands turned in to sleep.

On the following morning I made a *post-mortem* examination. He had received three shots in the flank and shoulder; four in the head, one of which had broken his lower jaw; another had passed

through his nose, and, passing downward, had cut off one of his large tusks. I never witnessed such determined and unprovoked fury as was exhibited by this animal—he appeared to be raving mad. His body was a mass of frightful scars, the result of continual conflicts with bulls of his own species; some of these wounds were still unhealed. There was one scar about two feet in length, and about two inches below the level of the surface skin, upon the flank. He was evidently a character of the worst description, but whose madness rendered him callous to all punishment. I can only suppose that the attack upon the vessels was induced by the smell of the raw hippopotamus flesh, which was hung in long strips about the rigging, and with which the zinc boat was filled. The dead hippopotamus that was floating astern lashed to the diahbeeah had not been molested.

We raised the zinc boat, which was fortunately unhurt. The dingy had lost a mouthful, as the hippopotamus had bitten out a portion of the side, including the gunwale of hard wood; he had munched out a piece like the port of a small vessel, which he had accomplished with the same ease as though it had been a slice of toast.

I sent the boat to the English shipwrights for

repair, and these capital workmen turned it out in a few days nearly as good as new.

The success of the dam was most complete. The river rose so as to overflow the marshes, which enabled us to push all the vessels up the channel without the necessity of deepening it by spade labour.

"*March* 14.—Should we succeed in reaching Gondokoro without serious loss, it will be the greatest possible triumph over difficulties, which no one can understand who has not witnessed the necessities of the journey.

"A diahbeeah arrived in the lake, breaking her yard in a sudden shift of wind, and giving a man a fall from aloft, which was fatal.

"The steamer and fleet are coming through the sudd as fast as the troops clear the channel.

"*March* 15.—The steamer arrived in the lake at 3.30 P.M.

"*March* 16.—Thermometer, 6 A.M., 61°; noon, 82°. Eleven vessels entered the lake last night. The wind has been very variable for the last few days, and the true north wind appears to have deserted us; the absence of a fair breeze delays us sadly in pushing through the narrow channels against the stream.

"Dysentery and scurvy are prevalent among the Egyptians. Four Egyptian soldiers and two Soudanis have deserted. Where these wretched fools intend to wander is quite a speculation;—they appear to have yielded to a temptation to run away upon the first dry land that they have seen for months.

"The fleet assembled in the lake. The Egyptian troops cut a passage for fifty yards through a sudd in a channel through which the fleet must pass, as there is a shallow that will prevent them from taking the main course of the lake.

"To-morrow the whole force will turn out and cut the remaining portion of about 300 yards; there will then be no difficulty except a sudd of about three quarters of a mile between the lake and the White Nile.

"*March* 17.—We cut through the sudd, and all the vessels entered the broad waters of the lake and anchored in the evening opposite some native huts, close to the channel that we must open to-morrow. These huts are the first habitations that we have seen for more than two months;—they are now deserted by the frightened fishermen who had occupied them.

"*March* 18.—The diahbeeah led the way at 7.30

A.M. through the channel that is closed by grass and the *Pistia Stratiotes*. At 10.15 we arrived in the White Nile. There is plenty of water throughout the closed channel, but there was some heavy work to clear the vegetation.

"*March* 19.—All the vessels came through into the White Nile, and there was great rejoicing throughout the fleet. At length the men really believed that a country of dry land might lie before them, and that they were delivered from the horrible chaos or 'Slough of Despond' in which they had now laboured for sixty days.

"I served out new tow-ropes to the fleet, and ordered No. 13 transport to discharge and divide her cargo among other vessels, and to take on board thirty soldiers to accompany the steamer to-morrow. We remounted the steamer's paddles and tautened all the rigging of the dahbeeah; mended sails, and thoroughly repaired for a start to-morrow. No. 31 being a rotten vessel, I ordered her cargo to be divided among the lighter boats. I gave stringent orders to the officers to protect all ammunition and bales of goods with galvanized iron plates in case of rain.

"*March* 20.—All the vessels got away by 9 A.M. with a rattling breeze. The steamer started at 10.8

A.M., but was delayed one hour and twenty minutes by her stupidly dragging the noggur ashore in rounding a sharp corner.

"At 5.15 P.M. we arrived at a forest on the west bank. At 6.45 P.M. we stopped, as I was afraid we might pass the station of Wat-el-Shambi in the dark.

"*March* 21.—At 8.25 A.M. we started. Three natives came to the vessel and reported the zareeba to be close ahead.

"I served out fifteen rounds of snider ammunition per man to the 'Forty Thieves,' thus filling up their pouches to thirty rounds. The banks are now dry, and about two feet six inches above the river's level. The country is as usual flat, but covered with forest on the west. Cattle numerous, and bellowing in all directions.

"At 9.15 A.M. we arrived at Wat-el-Shambi. The forest is distant from the river, therefore at 10 we started with light south-east wind, and at 10.30 we returned to a good station for cutting fuel in the forest about four miles below Wat-el-Shambi.

"The few representatives of Ali Amouri, the trader at the latter station, declared that they could not supply us with cattle, they being hard up for provisions themselves. Their looks belied the

excuse. Wind south all day, but changed to north at 6.30 P.M. The boat of the French trader, Jules Poncet, that had accompanied the fleet, arrived in the evening.

"A number of natives, stark naked, and smeared with wood ashes, came as usual to beg for corn. I have given strict orders that on no account shall corn be exchanged in purchases from the natives—otherwise our supply will be stolen wholesale. This order was broken through by Mustapha Ali, who therefore received a hundred lashes, as I was determined to enforce obedience.

"*March* 22.—Much lightning and wind from the south during the night. I fear rain. At daybreak we found Raouf Bey's vessel close up, and many others near. The north wind of last night must have aided them. The natives came in some numbers.

"*March* 23.—All hands yesterday and to-day busied in cutting wood for steamer.

"*March* 24.—Poor Jusef, one of the horsekeepers, died.

"*March* 25.—Started, with the steamer towing a noggur and my diahbeeah with about fifty hours' fuel on board, at 12.50 P.M.

"There has been wholesale theft of stores on No.

50 noggur. I caught and punished the captain in the act of selling our ammunition to the slave-traders' people in their zareeba.

"*March* 26.—We travelled throughout last night; the stream is nearly three miles per hour. We lost an hour last evening in taking wood from the noggur in tow, as she leaks dangerously. I took six men and their effects from her, and placed them on the steamer, as she is quite unsafe.

"Arrived at the station of Abou Kookah at 10.25 A.M., having travelled badly against the strong south wind, and our bottom dirty. At 3.10 P.M. we left Abou Kookah, and at 9.50 P.M. we arrived at the forest, close to the deserted mission station of St. Croix, where we halted for the night. There were vast herds of cattle and many natives on the east bank."

## CHAPTER VII.

### ARRIVAL AT GONDOKORO.

After the usual voyage upon the White Nile, during which we passed the Bohr and Shir tribes, and had excellent sport in antelope shooting when the steamer stopped at forests to cut fuel, we arrived opposite the old mission station at Gondokoro on April 15, 1871.

I found a great change in the river since my last visit. The old channel, which had been of great depth where it swept beneath the cliffs, was choked with sand-banks. New islands had formed in many places, and it was impossible for the vessels to approach the old landing-place. We therefore dropped down the stream to a spot where high ground and a few trees invited us to the east bank. At this place the traders had founded a new settlement that was now without inhabitants, and

was represented by half-a-dozen broken-down old huts.

"The country is sadly changed; formerly, pretty native villages in great numbers were dotted over the landscape, beneath shady clumps of trees, and the land was thickly populated. Now, all is desolate: not a village exists on the mainland; they have all been destroyed, and the inhabitants have been driven for refuge on the numerous low islands of the river; these are thronged with villages, and the people are busily cultivating the soil.

"I sent for the chief, Allorron, who, upon arrival with some other natives, explained that his country had been destroyed by the attacks of the people of Loquia at the instigation of the traders. I promised him protection if he and his people would return to the mainland and become true subjects to the Khedive. At the same time I informed him that, in return for protection, his people must cultivate corn, and build the huts required for the troops upon arrival. This he promised to do, and I arranged that he should summon a general meeting of the head-men and their people to-morrow, or as soon as possible.

"I at once cleared a small plot of ground and sowed some garden seeds on the new soil now

annexed to Egypt. My soldiers took a great interest in the operation, and as we covered the seeds with light earth, we concluded the sowing with the usual ejaculation—'Bismillah!' (in the name of God.)

"I walked up to the old mission station. Not one brick remains upon another—all is totally destroyed. The few fruit-trees planted by the pious hands of the Austrian Missionaries remain in a tangled wilderness by the river's bank. The beautiful avenue of large lemon-trees has been defaced by the destruction of many boughs, while the ground beneath is literally covered by many thousands of withered lemons that have fallen neglected from the branches without a hand to gather them. The natives will not eat them, thus the delicious fruit has been wasted; perhaps sixty or eighty bushels have rotted on the earth. I trust that the seeds I have already sown will have a more useful result than the lost labour of the unfortunate missionaries. It would be heart-breaking to them could they see the miserable termination of all their good works.

"*April* 16.—The mileage from the junction of the Bahr Giraffe I have calculated at 364 to this point (Gondokoro); but I deduct 10 per cent., as we took several wrong turns of the river. The distance may be about 330 miles.

| | Miles. |
|---|---|
| From Bahr Giraffe junction to Gondokoro | 330 |
| „ Upper Nile junction to Dubba on Bahr Giraffe . . . . | 48 |
| „ Dubba to Lower Nile junction . | 300 |
| „ Lower Nile junction to Sobat . | 38 |
| „ Sobat to Khartoum . . . | 693 |
| | 1,409 to Gondokoro." |

The chief Allorron arrived with a number of his people, and asked for "araki and cognac!" He is a big and savage-looking naked brute of the lowest description, his natural vices having been increased by constant associations with the slave-hunters. This man declared that his people could not prepare materials for the camp, as the neighbouring tribes were hostile; and he could not venture to collect bamboos.

I told him that if my orders were not obeyed, the troops would be obliged to be sheltered in his villages upon arrival, as I could not allow them to be exposed to the rains.

Both Allorron and his people looked extremely sullen, and although I always knew the Baris to be the worst tribe in the Nile basin, I was not prepared for such a morose welcome. I explained to him the object of the expedition. He seemed quite incredulous, and made some remark to his followers in his own language with a contemptuous smile. He

rather approved of the idea that slave-taking would be suppressed in his own tribe, but he could not sympathise with the general principle, and he asked "What will the slave-traders do?" Colonel Abd-el-Kader replied to the question by explaining to him my exact position, and the relative position of the traders. At this he burst out laughing in the rudest manner. He had seen me and my wife on our former voyage, and he well remembered that in those days we had been not only helpless in Gondokoro, but that the traders had spoken of all Europeans with contempt. He had already heard from Abou[1] Saood's people of my expected arrival, by whom he had been incited against the expedition. It had been explained to him, that if baffled, we should soon become disgusted, and return to Khartoum. He also remembered that many Europeans had visited Gondokoro like myself, but none had remained. It was therefore natural that a brutal savage, whose people were allied with the slave-traders to attack and pillage outlying countries, should not regard with favour a new government that would establish law and order. For many years Allorron's tribe had been associated with the slavers, and now that the entire country had been

[1] The agent of the great company of Agād & Co., who farmed the district from the government.

leased to one man, Abou Saood, he had become the vakeel, or representative of this individual, by whom he had been thoroughly prepared for our arrival. We had been expected long ago, but, as already described, the delays attending the opening of the Suez canal had prevented us from starting.

I quickly perceived the real state of affairs. A great number of Allorron's people were absent in the interior, employed by Abou Saood's companies as mercenary soldiers. The Baris are a most warlike tribe, and would make excellent troops; thus they were valuable allies of the slave-hunters, as the geographical position of Gondokoro rendered it the only spot that was adapted for an important station. The traders now possessed of the monopoly of the ivory trade, found no necessity for a permanent station at Gondokoro, as their interests were watched during their absence in the interior by their ally Allorron; they accordingly only visited Gondokoro when they returned periodically from the interior with their ivory and slaves to meet the vessels from Khartoum.

Allorron was in the habit of despatching messengers to their various camps (seven or eight days' march for a running negro) to give the vakeels notice of the arrival of the expected vessels. Many hun-

dreds of his people had been armed with guns by the traders, therefore his tribe and the companies of Abou Saood were thoroughly incorporated, brigands allied with brigands, and Gondokoro had become the nucleus to which the spoil was concentrated.

These were people by whom the blessings of a good government were hardly to be understood.

Unfortunately for Allorron, he had joined the slave-hunters of Abou Saood against neighbours that were unpleasantly close to Gondokoro. The Loquia, a most powerful tribe, only three days' march to the south-east, had lost slaves and cattle by these depredations; thus, when the slave-hunters' parties had quitted Gondokoro and returned to their station in the interior, Loquia had invaded the unprotected Allorron, and had utterly destroyed his district on the eastern mainland. For many miles the country now resembled a very lovely park. Every habitation had disappeared, and this formerly populous position was quite deserted by the surviving inhabitants, who had taken refuge in the islands, or on the west-side of the river. At this season the entire country was covered with a tender herbage—that species of fine grass, called by the Arabs "négheel," which is the best pasturage for cattle. Allorron's people dared not bring their herds to pasture upon

this beautiful land from whence they had been driven, as they were afraid that the news would soon reach Loquia, who would pounce unexpectedly upon them from the neighbouring forest.

I had therefore arrived in a country from which the original possessors had been banished by superior force: there was not a single representative of the tribe upon the mainland, neither could their cattle venture across the river to pasture upon the beautiful herbage, that was now entirely neglected except by a few herds of antelopes. At the same time, the pasturage on the islands, being insufficient for the large herds of cattle, was consumed, and the animals were dependent upon the rank grass, which they could only reach by wading into the water; thus many were taken by crocodiles.

It would have been natural to suppose that Allorron and his people would have welcomed the protection now offered by the new government. I invited them to return to their old country, from which they had been expelled, and to rebuild their villages on their old sites, where they could recommence their cultivation, and form a new settlement under the wing of our head-quarters.

It was easy to perceive by the manner of the chief, Allorron, and his people that they had been

incited by Abou Saood and his companies against the expedition. My delay in starting from Egypt had been of immense advantage to the slave-traders, as it had given them time to organize a resistance to the expedition. The negroes are easily misled; naturally vicious and treacherous, they are ready to believe any tales of evil: and as a young child may be frightened by a ghost story, they also may by a few words be rendered suspicious of their best friend. Their interests were the same as those of the slave-traders.

My "Forty Thieves"[1] were excellent fellows, and all the men who were constantly about me were very different from those who formed the bulk of the military force. I now commenced a small station and a large garden.

I had chosen a pretty spot for my station, as I did not intend to reside at head-quarters, which would be the site originally occupied by the Austrian mission, and was well adapted for a large town.

My position was a rising knoll of about six acres upon which grew a few shady trees. This spot had been the station of a missionary known by the natives under the name of "Suleiman;" his was the only name remembered by the Baris, and

[1] The bodyguard of picked men, armed with snider rifles.

his body had been buried here, but nothing marked the spot. He had passed away, like all the rest of those good and self-sacrificing people, without leaving one trace of good works among this barbarous tribe except the lemon-trees; theirs was the only seed that appeared to have fallen on good ground.

In a few days my men had made a large garden, in which I sowed onions, radishes, beans, spinach, four varieties of water melons, sweet melons, cucumbers, oranges, custard apples, Indian corn, garlic, barmian, tobacco, cabbages, tomatoes, chilis, long capsicums, carrots, parsley, celery. I arranged the daily labour so that the soldiers and sailors should work at the cultivation from 6 A.M. till 11; after which they might have the day to themselves, to construct their own huts.

At this season, 20th April 1871, the river was extremely low; I therefore fixed a pole with marked inches to register the rise of floods.

By the 23rd April all my men had arranged gardens parallel with the lines of their camp. I gave them various seeds, with a promise of prizes for the finest specimens of vegetables that might be produced. I had always endeavoured to create a taste for agriculture among my people, and they

had now learnt that the commencement of a new settlement was the signal for cultivation. I believe that no employment engenders such a love of a particular locality as that of farming, provided always that the soil and climate are favourable. Thus, in an expedition to a distant land, it is necessary to induce the feelings of *home* among the people. The hut by itself is simply shelter, but the same hut surrounded by a neat and productive garden, the result of industry, becomes a settled residence. It is pleasant to watch the blossoms of home flowers and vegetables that you may have yourself introduced and planted. A good English cabbage or carrot may not be introduced in poetry so generally as the rose, but in a new settlement, in a wild country, the success of a cabbage or carrot is of more importance to the expedition than bouquets of flowers.

Even the women and boys that were domestic servants, originally slaves that I had liberated from the traders, had learnt to take a great interest in cultivation. Each had a garden, and a day never passed without permission being asked for a few hours' recreation with the spade or hoe, the latter being the favourite implement, as the want of shoes rendered the management of the spade extremely difficult, except in very light soil.

I believe that a taste for gardening has a most civilizing influence among savages; and if I were a missionary, I should commence with such practical teaching, thus proving in your joint labour with the natives the principle that industry and peace will create prosperity.

A few extracts from my journal will describe the gradual progress of the settlement:—

"Mr. Higginbotham shot a waterbuck during an exploratory ramble that we took through the forest, in search of large timber for building purposes. The main forest begins about two miles from this station, in which is an unlimited supply of wood, including the most magnificent tamarind-trees. These beautiful specimens are dotted about the country, like park timber in England. There is a tamarind-tree about a mile from this station, beneath which about a thousand cattle might find shade.[1]

"There is a native, named Tomby, who speaks excellent Arabic. This fellow has been twice to Khartoum, and he wears clothes, instead of walking about in a state of absolute nudity like his countrymen. He has an excellent rifle that was given to him by his old master, a French trader, Monsieur

[1] It must be remembered that the Bari cattle are very small.

Bartholomé. Tomby has been employed as interpreter; and having been born and bred in these parts, he is a perfect chronicler. It appears that Abou Saood treacherously murdered the sheik of Belinian, a country about twelve miles distant from this station. This ruffian, who holds a contract from the government, and who, with his partner Agād, is the lessee of 90,000 square miles of Central Africa, manages his affairs in this manner. He feared the sheik of Belinian, who was a powerful neighbour: he therefore, professing friendship, invited him and his family to an entertainment at Gondokoro. The sheik and his people, not suspecting evil, arrived, bringing with them the usual presents. Abou Saood received them very politely, and when they were seated, and had entered into conversation, he had them seized by his people, and murdered them on the spot in cold blood. Owing to this treacherous conduct, and the general behaviour of Abou Saood's parties, the entire neighbourhood is hostile, and anarchy prevails throughout the country; thus I cannot send a letter to the traders' camp at Latooka, as no one dares to travel.

"*April* 24.—Thermometer, 6 A.M., 74°; noon, fell to 72°. We had a picnic at the old mission station, where I went accompanied by Lieutenant

Baker, Mr. Higginbotham, and my wife, to measure out the camp and fort. As usual in England, the picnic brought on heavy rain, which lasted from 9.30 A.M. till 2 P.M., to the great benefit of the garden.

"*April* 25.—Thermometer, 6 A.M., 69°; noon, 80°. We completed the large garden; the soldiers' allotments are also complete. The camp of the "Forty Thieves" is very neat; a spirit of industry has seized upon the whole party. The women have made gardens around their huts, and agriculture appears to be the prevailing fashion. I am surrounding the cultivation with a live fence of euphorbia. Julian has been unwell for some time past.

"The natives appear to have gained confidence, as they are bringing their cattle across the river from the islands to our fine pasturage. It is curious to see the manner in which the herd follows the man who swims before them as their guide, while other natives direct them while swimming by striking them upon the horns with long bamboos.

"Yesterday the river rose about two feet, but it fell almost as suddenly, showing that the rise was only the effect of the heavy rain upon the mountain ranges throughout the country.

"One of the boys, Saïd, caught three fish, weighing about eight, ten, and twenty pounds each. These

were of the *Silurus* species, and are excellent eating.

"The white ants are now issuing from the ground in vast numbers in the winged state, and are taking flight. Myriads of the black and white tern and the white storks are following them. The lizards are also at work in the general persecution.

"*April* 26, 27.—Made new garden beds. All the seeds sown by the troops are above ground, to the great delight of the men. We cleared and sowed about an acre with Indian corn to-day."

We thus continued working and improving, until we had in a comparatively short time produced a great result. About ten acres of corn were above ground, as a few showers had started the seeds like magic. My men were comfortably housed in a neat station on the high ground, while my servants had a pretty little village of their own situated on the knoll, by the river side, about fifty yards from my dahbeeah. This vessel was moored alongside the bank, the fine grass of which was kept closely cut, so as to resemble a lawn, that extended for about thirty yards; this was bounded by prickly pears and ornamented by a large and showy butter-nut-tree, which formed our out-door drawing-room.

It was all very well to establish a government, and to commence the civilization of Central Africa, but we were very hungry, and we could procure nothing from the natives. We had no butchers' meat, neither would the Sheik Allorron or his people sell us either sheep or cattle.

For several days we lived upon sparrows, which Monsoor shot by sprinkling corn upon the ground and firing into the assembled flock of hundreds. The country was swarming with these small birds, which are no doubt delicacies; but if you have a good appetite they are a little too light on the stomach. In the meantime, although the natives could now venture to drive their cattle to the rich pasturage under our protection, which they could not before enjoy for fear of their enemies, the Loquia, they absolutely refused to sell, or to supply us in any manner. In spite of my explanations to the sheik by the interpreter Tomby, he refused to bring either grass or wood for the expected soldiers' huts, or in fact to do anything to serve us.

Upon one occasion, as my men were sowing and clearing the land for planting, he employed natives to work at the same kind of cultivation in front of the troops, in order to claim a right to the

soil. On this occasion he came himself, prepared with a cup formed of a small gourd-shell slung by a string upon his neck. He explained that this was his cup for drinking araki, with which he requested to be supplied.

"How long are you going to remain here?" he asked. He continued, "You had better go back to Khartoum, and I will eat the corn you have planted when it becomes ripe."

I explained that Gondokoro would be head-quarters, and that troops would always remain there, and we should cultivate a large extent for corn. He replied: "Then who does this land belong to?—to you or to me?" I explained that his people had been driven out by superior force, and that we had found it abandoned; at the same time, neither he nor his people dare remain here without my protection, therefore the land belonged to the Khedive of Egypt; but if the natives wished to re-settle I would give them their original property.

He simply replied, "Who does this tree belong to?" (we were standing beneath its shade). "It belongs to the Khedive of Egypt," I replied, "who is now protector of the whole country, and I am his representative to establish his government."

He replied: "Then you had better be off to

Khartoum, for we don't want any government here."

There can be no doubt that in the abstract of people's rights, any annexation of the territory of another is an infringement. Had this principle been adhered to throughout the history of the world, there would have been no progress. Savages of all countries are prone to strife; and a state of chronic warfare with neighbouring tribes is the example of African politics. A strong government is a necessity.

I had always expected trouble with the Baris, as I had known them during my former journey as a tribe of intractable savages. The Austrian missionaries had abandoned them as hopeless, after many efforts and a great expenditure of money and energy.

The natives had pulled down the neat mission house, and they had pounded and ground the bright red bricks into the finest powder, which mixed with grease formed a paint to smear their naked bodies. Thus the only results of many years' teaching were the death of many noble men, the loss of money, the failure of the attempt; and instead of the enterprise leaving a legacy of inward spiritual grace to these "men and brethren," the missionary establishment itself was converted into an external application for the skin: the house of God was turned into

"pomade divine." This was a result that might have been expected by any person who had practical experience of the Baris.

The extent of country occupied by this tribe was about ninety miles in length from north to south, and seventy in width. Although the people who inhabited this district were all Baris, there was no cohesion among them. They were divided into numerous small chiefdoms, each governed by its sheik or headman. Thus Allorron represented Gondokoro, while every petty district was directed by a similar sheik. The Bari country was thickly inhabited. The general features of the landscape were rolling park-like grass lands;—very little actual flat, but a series of undulations, ornamented with exceedingly fine timber—forests of considerable extent, and mountains rising to about 2,500 or 3,000 feet above their base. From these mountains numerous streams drained to the Nile: these were generally dry in the summer season. The soil was poor in the neighbourhood of Gondokoro, but at a distance from the river, the country was fertile;—the rocks were throughout granitic; the mountains yielded the finest iron ore, especially those of Belinian, twelve miles from Gondokoro, where the natives were expert blacksmiths. Cultivation was carried on to a large extent through-

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

Fig. 3.

Fig. 4

Fig. 5.

Fig. 1.—Packet of plaited rope of Uganda, in the exac shape as presented by the natives.
" 2.—Sandal of raw hide as made in Unyoro.
" 3.—Skull of the Baleniceps Rex. The powerful spear-like beak is used for crushing the shells of the large helix and other molluscs of the White Nile
" 4.—The iron molote, or spade, of the Bari and Madi tribes, one-third of the original size.
" 5.—Pipe bowl of the Bari tribe.

out the country; the corn generally used was the common dhurra (*Sorghum vulgare*). This was usually the dark-red variety, which, being rather bitter, has a chance of escape from the clouds of small birds which ruin the crops. Sesamé was common throughout all portions of Central Africa, and throve well upon the poor and light soil of Gondokoro.

The Baris were exceedingly neat in their dwellings, and their villages were innumerable. Each hut was surrounded by a small court composed of cement made from the clay of the white-ant hills mixed with cow-dung and smeared with ashes: these courts were always kept scrupulously clean. The Bari hut differs from that of other tribes, as it contains an inner circle, which can only be reached by creeping on the hands and knees—first through the entrance, which is only twenty-four inches high, and secondly from the passage formed by the inner circle. The inner walls are formed of wattles and clay neatly smeared or plastered with cement. They are quickly attacked by the white ants, which destroy the wattles, but the clay is sufficiently tenacious to form a wall when the wood or reeds may have disappeared.

The granaries are formed of wicker-work supported upon upright pedestals of either hard wood or of stone, to resist the white ants; the wicker-

work is smeared with clay and cow-dung, and the roof is thatched in a manner similar to the house.

The Baris are a great pastoral people, and possess immense herds of cattle. These are generally small active animals with humps; white is the prevailing colour. The sheep are small and the mutton is good; but although the fine pasturage of the Bari country is eminently adapted for sheep and goats, these animals are delicate, and require much attention during the heavy rains, at which time they are always kept beneath a roof at night, with fires composed of dry cow-dung to create a smoke that will drive away flies or mosquitoes.

Like most of the tribes of the White Nile, the Baris have a strong objection to sell their cattle; thus you may be surrounded by plenty, but you may starve in the midst of beef.

Their large herds are confined at night within zareebas or kraals. These are formidable defences. The cattle zareeba is a circular stockade formed of a hard wood called by the Arabs abou-noos or abdnoos (ebony). This is an intensely hard black wood somewhat resembling ebony. Piles as thick as a man's thigh are sunk in the earth, so as to leave a fence or stockade of about eight feet high bove the surface; these piles are placed as close as

possible together, and interlaced by tough hooked thorns, which when dry and contracted bind the stockade into a very compact defence. The entrance to this fort is only sufficiently large to admit one animal at a time; thus the herd can be easily counted. Within the stockade are several houses, in addition to a few large circular sheds for the protection of young calves. The sheep and goats are kept in a separate zareeba.

All the operations of the Baris are conducted by signals given by the drum, precisely as our military movements are directed by bugle-calls. The great drum that belongs to the headman or sheik, is suspended beneath an open shed, so that it is always protected from weather, and at the same time the sound could travel unchecked. These drums are cut and scooped with great labour from a peculiar wood, which is exceedingly tough and will not easily split. The Bari drum is exactly the shape of an egg with a slice taken off the thicker end. Some of these instruments are very large, and as much as two men could carry on a pole. Both ends are hollowed through and secured with hide; but the broad end forms the actual drum. This is beaten with two short sticks of hard wood. In the early morning, shortly before sunrise, the hollow

sound of the big drum is always heard giving the signal by a certain number of beats for the milking of the cows. The women and young men then commence, and when the operation is completed, the drum beats again, and the large herds are driven to pasturage. The signal is repeated in the evening. Should an enemy attack the country, the sheik's big drum gives the alarm by a peculiar series of beats, which if once heard can easily be remembered. In a few seconds this loud alarm will be re-echoed by every drum throughout the numerous villages, and the news of the attack will thus spread by signal as fast as sound can travel. A certain beat of the sheik's big drum is the call for a general assembly, in which case, should an enemy appear, the whole forces of the district can be concentrated in one point.

The weapons of the Baris are finely-wrought lances, and bows with horribly barbed arrows. They seldom carry shields, as they are difficult to manage together with the bow, and they impede the rapid movements which are the chief feature in Bari tactics.

The men are generally tall and powerful, always naked and smeared with ashes, or on great occasions with red ochre and grease. The women are not absolutely bad-looking, but real beauties are extremely

rare. They wear an apron before and behind of tanned leather, extending nearly to the knees, which is only the outer garment, beneath which they wear a neatly-made fringe of innumerable strings, formed of finely-spun cotton thread, suspended from a leather belt. Some of the wealthy possess fringe composed of iron rings, neatly worked, so as to form a kind of shirt of mail.

Every man is a warrior from his childhood, as the Baris are always at war. They are extremely clever in the use of the lance, which they can throw with great accuracy for a distance of thirty yards, and they can pitch it into a body of men at upwards of fifty yards. From early childhood the boys are in constant practice, both with the lance and the bow and arrow; thus, although their weapons are inferior to fire-arms properly used, they are dangerous in the hands of proficients against men who, like my troops, were utterly ignorant of the art of shooting.

Fortunately for my expedition, the warlike Baris were not united throughout their territory. Nevertheless, I discovered that the Baris of Gondokoro had made an alliance with those of Belinian, twelve miles from head-quarters. I observed that women were constantly passing to and fro with baskets on their

heads, carrying salt from Gondokoro, and each returning with a goat, led by a string. Excellent salt is found at Gondokoro, real chloride of sodium; and this article enables the natives of that district to trade with the interior, where salt is extremely rare and of great value. I had remarked that women, and sometimes men, were met in my rambles through the forest, on their way to Belinian by this concealed route, instead of taking the open path; this aroused my suspicion, as the chief, Allorron, and his people declared that they were enemies of the Belinian natives.

. . . . . .

The position had become intolerable. The fact could no longer be concealed that the Baris were hostile. No positive outbreak had occurred, but the natives were sullen in their demeanour, and generally avoided the new settlement. Butchers' meat was exceedingly scarce, as we had only a few cows that had been given during the voyage by the vakeel of the Bohr station. The troops were without rations of meat. At the same time there were thousands of cattle on the islands before their eyes, not one of which could be purchased from the natives. Although the natives refused to assist us in any way, or to supply us with cattle at any price,

they drove their herds across from the island to the mainland to fatten on the fine pasturage under the government protection. This pasturage, having been abandoned by them and occupied by the government troops, had naturally become the property of the Khedive. The natives had no more right to the soil from which they had been driven, than the French would have to Alsace and Lorraine, should those provinces be occupied by a foreign Power which had driven out the Germans.

The last vessels having arrived, terminated the voyage from Tewfikeeyah, which had occupied five months and twenty-two days. The troops, who had suffered much by fatigue in cutting through the marshes, had not been absolutely relieved by their arrival in the clear White Nile. The north wind changed suddenly to the south, in which unfavourable quarter it continued steadily for a month; thus my unfortunate men had to tow the vessels along the banks against wind and stream for about 300 miles from Wat-el-Shambi to Gondokoro. Upon arrival at that station, which I had described to them as the "Promised Land," they found a lovely park, but without a single dwelling. Instead of being received as deliverers by a friendly and grateful population, they met with neglect and ill-will from a tribe of

robbers, allies of the traders, who fattened upon the spoil of weaker neighbours.

After all their hard work and suffering in attaining the promised paradise, they found only additional labour awaiting them, as they had to wander several miles in search of long thatch-grass and timber to construct the new station, in which fatigue they were entirely unassisted by the sullen inhabitants.

Added to these disappointments, the men were hungry, and no cattle could be purchased from my new subjects, who were obstinate and refractory.

I had a serious conversation with Sheik Allorron, during which I clearly defined our relative positions, and represented to him in the strongest terms th folly of trusting to the support of Abou Saood and his people against the government, as they were all subjects of the Khedive and bound to obey my orders. At the same time I informed him of the absolute necessity of cattle for the supply of the troops, which I promised to pay for.

I clearly saw that the miserable policy of these people was to starve the troops into the supposed necessity of evacuating the position, and returning to Khartoum. I represented to Allorron the danger of trifling with a hungry lion, at which he grinned, as a good joke, and immediately replied: "If you

want cattle, I will give you some of my people as guides, and you can go and attack a neighbour of mine, and capture his herds, which will last you for a long time." I replied, that I could not injure any one who had not committed an offence, but as he for the last time refused assistance, I should not permit his herds to graze upon my pasturage; therefore I begged they might be confined to the island.

At the same time I officially invited Allorron and all the headmen of the country, including the sheik of Belinian, to an entertainment. I intended, formally and officially, to annex the country to Egypt.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### OFFICIAL ANNEXATION.

On May 26, 1871, all was in order. A flag-staff about eighty feet high had been neatly erected by Lieut. Baker on the highest point of land overlooking the river. Every small bush had been cleared away, and the position in the centre of an open park-like country would have formed an admirable race-course. The troops, having had two days' rest to wash their clothes and burnish up their arms and accoutrements, marched from the station at Gondokoro at 6 A.M.

I had 1,200 men on the ground, including ten mountain rifled guns throwing $8\frac{1}{4}$ lbs. shell.

In their clean white uniforms, with the neat koofeeia or sun-cloth, which, covering the head, drooped gracefully upon the shoulders, the troops showed to great advantage, as they marched with the band

OFFICIAL ANNEXATION OF GONDOKORO—SALUTING THE FLAG. Vol. i. p. 249.

playing from head-quarters to the flag-staff above my station. As they filed through the green trees, and then formed into sections of companies as they emerged into the open ground, the effect was exceedingly good, and the sheik, Allorron, and his friends, the headmen of many villages, looked with amazement upon a scene that was altogether new to them.

Having arrived opposite the flag-staff, the troops formed in line two deep on the flat grassy surface of the heights above my station. The long row of glittering bayonets and the gay uniforms of the officers bewildered the astonished natives. All the sailors, servants, and camp-followers were dressed in their best clothes. The prevailing colours, white and red, looked exceedingly gay upon the close and even surface of the green turf. My staff was composed of my aides-de-camp, Lieutenant Baker R.N., Lieut.-Colonel Abd-el-Kader, together with three other officers, and Mr. Higginbotham. At that time the horses were all in excellent condition.

Having ridden along the line and halted beneath the flag, the troops formed three sides of a square with the flag-staff in the centre. The fourth side facing the river, was then occupied by the artillery, with ten guns.

The formality of reading the official proclamation, describing the annexation of the country to Egypt in the name of the Khedive, then took place at the foot of the flag-staff. At the termination of the last sentence, the Ottoman flag was quickly run up by the halyards and fluttered in the strong breeze at the mast-head. The officers with drawn swords saluted the flag, the troops presented arms, and the batteries of artillery fired a royal salute.

This ceremony being completed, the troops marched past; after which, they formed in order for a supposed attack upon an imaginary enemy, and fired away about ten thousand rounds of blank cartridge in the advance down the long slope which led to the temporary camp and tents erected for the entertainment. Here the bugle sounded "disperse," and all the men immediately set to work to light fires and prepare the food that had been already supplied for their dinners. I believe this was the only day of real enjoyment that the troops had had. The hours passed in rest and sleep until sunset.

I had invited fourteen of the officers to dine with me, and our party of eighteen was easily accommodated on the roomy poop-deck of my diahbeeah.

The Englishmen had a table to themselves in the garden, and were regaled with roast beef and

real English plum-pudding, that, having been brought out in tins for Christmas Day, could not be found during the voyage; therefore it added to the feast of the "day of annexation," and was annexed accordingly by English appetites. This was washed down and rendered wholesome by a quantity of pure filtered water from the river Nile, which was included in the annexation; and was represented in the Nile Basin mixed with Jamaica rum, sugar, nutmeg, and lemon-juice from the fruit of the trees planted by the good Austrian missionaries at Gondokoro. Little did they think, poor fellows, of the jollification to which their lemons would subscribe when they first sowed the good seeds.

When dinner was over, we repaired to the large divan tents, where refreshments were arranged, and the magic lantern was prepared for the amusement of officers and men. This was an admirable machine, and was well explained by Lieutenant Baker. No one had ever seen such an exhibition before, therefore it caused immense satisfaction. One of the representations that was most applauded, was, Moses going through the Red Sea with the Israelites, followed by Pharaoh. The story being well known to all Mohammedans, the performance was encored with such energy that Moses had to go through the Red Sea twice,

and they would have insisted upon his crossing a third time, had the slide not been rapidly exchanged for another subject.

The formal ceremony of annexation was over, and it was necessary to decide upon the future.

I had issued the following Camp Regulations :—

1. "No person shall cut or in other ways destroy any tamarind or oil tree under any pretext whatever. Neither shall any tree whatsoever be either cut or damaged within a distance of 2,000 paces from the flag-staff or camp.

2. "No person shall stray beyond 2,000 paces of the flag-staff or camp without permission either from the Pacha or Raouf Bey.

3. "No person shall trade in ivory, neither shall any person accept ivory as a present or in exchange; neither shall any person shoot, or cause to be shot, elephants: all ivory being the property and monopoly of the government of His Highness the Khedive of Egypt.

4. "No person shall either purchase or receive slaves as presents or in exchange.

"Any person transgressing by disobedience of the above laws will be punished as the will of Baker Pacha may direct.

"S. W. BAKER."

My men were hard at work erecting magazines and building the station, and had I not issued the above regulations, they would have cut down every ornamental tree in the neighbourhood. Although the mission-house had disappeared, the foundations remained; I dug them up, and procured sufficient sound bricks to build a powder-magazine, which I covered with a galvanized iron roof and protected my ammunition.

Several of the Egyptian soldiers deserted. These people, who were for the most part convicts, although professing Islamism, preferred to live with the natives, to the steady discipline of military life.

One evening, the sentry, on guard before the house of Lieutenant Baker and Mr. Higginbotham, was observed by Mr. Baker's soldier servant (a black) to lay his rifle on the ground and to enter stealthily the doorway of his hut. Abdullah Maseri, the servant, lost no time in running towards the hut, which he quietly entered in the dusk, without being perceived by the thief within, who in the absence of Mr. Baker was pillaging his boxes.

Abdullah quietly crept up behind him, pinned him by the back of the neck, and held him until he obtained assistance. There was no escape from conviction, therefore I sentenced the

thief to receive 100 lashes and to be confined in irons.

While he was undergoing the punishment he yelled for mercy, saying, "I will confess—I will confess all. It was I who entered the Pacha's room at Tewfikeeyah. It was at me that the Pacha fired the pistol! Put me in irons, but don't flog me; I will confess all."

This man was an Egyptian belonging to the "Forty Thieves," and he now confessed his former delinquency. He was secured in irons and placed under a guard. The fellow had been a professional thief, and during the night he managed to slip off his irons and make his escape, no doubt with the connivance of the sentry.

The fact of the natives receiving the deserters was enough to suggest the suspicion that they were tampering with the troops. Although the Baris would neither work nor assist in any manner, they continued in spite of my warning, to swim their cattle across to the pasturage on the mainland occupied by the troops.

I again gave the sheik Allorron notice, that if he continued to drive his cattle to the forbidden pasture, they would be confiscated.

On the following morning they returned to the

mainland as usual, not the slightest notice having been taken of my repeated and official warning.

I gave orders to secure them. About ten men of the "Forty Thieves" quietly explained the order to the natives who guarded the cattle, and without any remonstrance they drove them to my station, and stood guard around the herd.

The natives returned to the island, and reported the affair to the sheik Allorron and his people.

Early on the following morning, the sheik, accompanied by fifteen headmen of villages and a number of natives, together with Tomby the interpreter, attended and formed a deputation. I received them beneath the shady tree near my diahbeeah. They looked very sheepish, and asked me, "Why had I confiscated their cattle?"

I explained the reason: and they at length acknowledged that they had no positive right of pasturage, as they had been driven from their country by the Loquia, and were it not for my presence they could not venture to drive their cattle to the mainland. At the same time they explained, that the extreme dryness of the season had exhausted the grass upon the island after the close grazing of the large herds; thus they had imagined I should not have any

real objection to their pasturing upon the east banks, which, as I had no cattle, would otherwise be neglected.

I explained that the government must be obeyed, and that, as they had disobeyed every order, I should take charge of their cattle (about 200) until they showed a disposition to accept the Khedive's authority. At the same time, if the natives would bring thatch grass and assist the troops in forming the station (a work which they had always performed annually for Abou Saood's people), I would return them their cattle.

A long conversation ensued among the headmen, several of whom rose in succession, and addressed the meeting with great energy and fluency. They declared that there had been a general misunderstanding, but that they now began to comprehend their position. I informed them that they must themselves appoint a responsible sheik or headman, as many had refused to obey Allorron. I should regard one chief as their representative, and they as headmen must elect him at the present assembly. I should also place the power in the hands of the chief, whose orders must be obeyed by the headmen of the villages. This chief would be responsible to me for the acts of those beneath him, and I should

punish all those who refused to acknowledge his authority.

The meeting ended most satisfactorily. The natives explained, that, although Allorron had been the ostensible sheik for a great length of time, the true sheik by actual descent was a chief named Morbé; but as his cattle had been carried off by the Loquia, he had lost his property, and also his influence among the people. In those savage countries the possession of property is considered absolutely necessary to a man in a high position.

Morbé was elected unanimously as the sheik responsible to the government. All headmen declared they would obey his orders; even Allorron appeared pleased that he had shifted his responsibility upon the shoulders of another. The headmen all promised that they would beat their drums and summon their people on their return to their villages, and that on the morrow they would collect bamboos and thatch-grass for any purpose we might require. The meeting ended by their agreeing to deliver a certain number of bundles in a given period: they also promised to supply the troops with oxen at a stipulated price. Morbé, the new sheik, then addressed me in the name of the assembly, and begged me to establish confidence and goodwill by returning them their

cattle. I had expected this request. I therefore replied, that as they had attended my summons and promised obedience, I would test their sincerity by returning them not only their own cattle, but I would trust them with the care of my three large breeding cows which I had brought from the Bohr country; at the same time I gave them fair warning, that if they broke the agreement now entered upon, I should not be in a hurry to return their cattle on a future occasion. They seemed to be quite satisfied, and the meeting broke up.

They drove off the herd, together with my three cows, while my soldiers looked on with utter amazement, and regarded me as though I had lost my senses.

Although I had entered into this agreement, the natives had not the slightest idea of carrying out their promises. A few bundles of bamboos were brought, also some thatch-grass, but not an ox was given to the troops. The sheik of Belinian had refused to appear; and he alleged as an excuse that he feared treachery, since his father and family had been murdered when guests of Abou Saood. The Baris of Gondokoro had regained their cattle, and they did not trouble themselves about their contract, as they inwardly hoped that by starving us they

might succeed in disgusting the troops, which would necessitate the abandonment of the expedition.

A few days after the breach of contract, Tomby, the interpreter, appeared, and told me that the Baris had refused to work, and that the government would not succeed in that country. The people wished me to join them with my troops, and to attack their old enemy, Loquia. I should then obtain cattle and sheep in the razzia, and the government would be independent.

This was the regular negro system which had originally introduced the slave trade throughout the White Nile. One tribe invariably requests the alliance of a superior force to attack some powerful neighbour: the prisoners of war become slaves. When trading adventurers first commenced on the White Nile, the natives sold ivory for beads and copper bracelets; and trade was fairly established. The armed companies of the traders were immediately invited to become allies, and attacks were made upon various tribes. The cattle and slaves became the property of the captors. The traders quickly discovered that it was far easier and more profitable to steal cattle and slaves to exchange for ivory, than to import goods from Khartoum. They commenced the system of cattle-lifting and slave-

hunting, which rapidly increased until it arrived at the immense scale already described.

I preached morality hopelessly to the Baris; they were mere ruffians, and they longed for the arrival of Abou Saood, who would once more give them an opportunity of joining his people to plunder and enslave the tribes of the interior. It was in vain that I assured them of the impossibility of such proceedings, and that Abou Saood's people would not be permitted by the government to continue these atrocities. They ridiculed the idea, and declared that the traders would always continue in their old customs, notwithstanding the presence of the Khedive's officers. They said that no business could be done in any other way in those countries; they advised me to "take women and cattle, and then the natives would listen to my advice, but not otherwise."

It was utter folly to attempt negotiations with these people; they were the most brutal and obtuse savages. They had been abandoned by the missionaries as hopeless, and they would acknowledge nothing but force.

The troops were discontented. After all their fatigues, the promised land was starvation. There was still much work to be done, as the expedition was in fact only commencing. By degrees the Baris absented

themselves entirely from our camp, and we were left to ourselves as utter strangers. The cattle were driven over to our fine pasturage daily, and returned at night to their island; but not an ox, or even a goat, was ever offered for sale, and all communication between us and the natives had apparently ceased.

It was quite impossible to allow this to continue. I gave the order, and once more the soldiers quietly surrounded the herd of cattle, and drove them to head-quarters as before. The old scene was re-enacted. The new sheik, Morbé, together with Allorron and many headmen, arrived. Again a long palaver took place, through the medium of Tomby, the interpreter, and the promises of good behaviour were renewed.

I informed them that I should not confiscate their cattle, but I should keep them as hostages for their good behaviour; at the same time, I should select a certain number of oxen as food for the 'roops, which should be paid for.

The meeting terminated with fresh assurances of goodwill. . . . . A few days elapsed, but the Baris did not return; we were completely abandoned.

On June 29th the camp was disturbed at night by an attempt of the natives to drive off some of

the cattle. The sentry fired, but without effect. I foresaw trouble.

On June 1st I issued a General Order to the troops—

"The natives of the Bari having disobeyed the summons of the government, and having refused compliance with the regulations established, it has become necessary to compel them to obedience by force.

"In the event of hostilities, I specially forbid the capture of women, or children of either sex. Any officer or soldier disobeying this order will suffer death.

"S. W. BAKER."

I felt certain that a breach of the peace was at hand, and I made arrangements accordingly. The troops were daily engaged in building the station, in which they were assisted by the sailors, all of whom were obliged to carry the material from a distance of two miles from the forest. A party of sawyers with a small escort of soldiers were settled in a camp about three miles from my station, as the distance was too great for a daily return from their work. One night they were attacked by the natives, who shot arrows and yelled for about an hour, but fortunately did not

THE BELINIAN BARIS ATTACK AND DRIVE OFF THE CATTLE.

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succeed in wounding any of the men, who were well protected by the trunks of some very large trees. The soldiers had fired away a considerable amount of ammunition in return, until they managed to escape during the darkness, and ran away to head-quarters.

On 3rd June, at about 3 P.M., when the cattle were grazing in the beautiful park-like ground about a mile from head-quarters, some Baris, who had stealthily approached the herd by stalking from bush to bush, without being observed by the sleepy guards, made a sudden rush, with loud yells, among the cattle, and succeeded in driving off ten cows, with which they swam the river without a shot being fired by the unready soldiers.[1]

On the night of the 4th June two natives were captured by the sentries. These people had crept in the pitch darkness, until they had succeeded in entering the cattle zareeba. One of them confessed that a large body of natives was assembled in the high grass near the banks of the river, with the intention of attacking the camp during the night.

I immediately took eighteen men, and posted them in three parties of six at various points about

[1] On this occasion the guards must have run away at the first onset of the natives.

a quarter of a mile from my station. They were to lie concealed in these positions, which commanded every approach to the camp.

At 10.30 P.M. I was aroused by the sound of firing, and upon arrival at the spot I found that the sentries had fired into the advanced party of natives, some of whom they declared to be wounded, but I could find no trace of blood.

Open war had commenced. The natives had deserted their villages on the portion of the island opposite to my camp. This was about seven miles in length, therefore, in return for the attacks made upon my people on our mainland, I determined to pay the Baris a visit.

I issued the necessary orders. At 3 A.M., on June 5th, five boats with sixty men dropped silently down the east channel of the river, with orders to land at the extreme end of the island. At the same time two companies of troops landed opposite my station, where they waited in the dark until the steamer, with myself and two companies on board, had rounded the head of the island, and had obtained a position in the west channel. The troops then advanced while the steamer ran easily down the strong current. Everything went well, but the noise of the paddles quickly gave the alarm,

and the sound of a big drum in the distance was almost immediately responded to by many others from various points.

The steamer now ran at half speed along the river, with the intention of cutting off any native canoes, or intercepting any herds of cattle that might be passing to the west mainland. Every arrangement was well carried out; but, unfortunately, as we were running at about nine miles an hour, the steamer suddenly struck upon a sand-bank, where she remained fixed.

After some vain attempts to float her, I instructed Raouf Bey to do his best with her, and act, according to circumstances, at his own discretion, while I left the steamer in the dingy, accompanied by Lieutenant Baker and six soldiers of the "Forty Thieves," with the intention of joining the two companies under Lieutenant-Colonel Abd-el-Kader, who were marching down the island from south to north.

We rowed down the stream for forty-five minutes along the west bank of the island. I had calculated the distance by time, and having allowed for the delay on the steamer and the pace at which the troops under Abd-el-Kader would march, I concluded that we should now land somewhere near

them. This turned out correct, as we joined his party a few minutes after we had left the boat. I immediately detached a sergeant and nineteen men to march along the east bank until they should meet my boat, which had been ordered to continue along the west bank until it should turn round the tail of the island, when it was to return home by the east channel, that would lead direct to my station.

We had not seen any Baris upon the island, which appeared to be quite deserted. The character of the ground had changed. We had left the dry portion, which had been lately sown with dhurra, and we had arrived among scattered masses of tall reeds growing from mud lately hardened by the sun, and full of deep cattle-ruts.

I threw out skirmishers, as we shortly entered a bad piece of country. At this moment we heard shots fired at the tail of the island, about two miles in our front.

We pushed on at the double, until stopped by a deep channel of the river about thirty yards wide. On the other side we now heard the horns of the natives and the lowing of cattle. It was necessary to skirt the banks of the channel through thick forest; thus, following the stream, we shortly arrived at the main river, just in time to see the natives

at a distance of a quarter of a mile swimming a large herd of cattle across the stream to the east shore, where they landed and safely gained the forest. They were quickly pursued by the troops who having landed at the tail of the island, were in chase; and being supplied with boats, they crossed over the river and followed hard upon the track of the retreating cattle.

The Baris did not suspect that they would be followed to the main shore; thus upon reaching the forest they continued their retreat leisurely. My black troops were wonderful runners; thus, when once upon the track of the herd, they went along like hounds and overtook the Baris, who had no idea of the pursuit until the soldiers were among them. The affair ended by the capture of a portion of the herd, and the return to camp at 5.30 P.M. We had eaten nothing since the previous evening, as the boat containing our breakfast had not yet appeared. We had been on our legs in the sun for fourteen hours, thus we were ready for dinner on the return to camp. I was anxious about the missing boat. On the following day, June 6, at 4.40 P.M., the lost dingy arrived with her crew all safe. They had missed their way by taking a wrong channel of the river, which led them into

a labyrinth of high reeds, where they were obliged to pass the night among clouds of mosquitoes.

On the following morning they began the tedious journey by rowing homeward against the stream. They came suddenly upon a large body of natives, who immediately attacked them with arrows, one of which went through the trousers of a soldier. My men told a long story, and made themselves out to be perfect heroes; but my servants and the boatmen told a very different tale, and declared that they had thrown themselves down in the bottom of the boat to avoid the arrows, and my servant, Mohammed Haroon, had himself fired my heavy gun loaded with mould shot at the enemy.

On 7th June I discovered that the Baris of Gondokoro had leagued themselves with the natives of Belinian against us.

They had attacked conjointly on several occasions. On this day the natives in force having, as usual, crept stealthily from bush to tree without being perceived by the soldiers, made a sudden rush upon the cattle guards, and shot one soldier with an arrow and wounded another with a lance. I immediately gave orders for an attack on Belinian that night. At 12.30 A.M. I left my station on horseback, accompanied by Lieutenant Baker and Mr. Higgin-

botham, together with Lieutenant-Colonel Abd-el-Kader and twenty men of the "Forty Thieves." Not a word was spoken, as it was important to march without the slightest noise that might alarm the native scouts who were generally prowling about throughout the night. We arrived at head-quarters, a mile and a half distant, where four companies with one gun had been ordered to be in readiness.[1] At 1 A.M. we started with a Bari guide named Sheroom, who had volunteered to serve me, together with his friend Morgiān, at the commencement of the war. These men spoke Arabic, and since the flight of Tomby, the interpreter (who had joined our enemies), these two Baris were our invaluable allies.

The route to Belinian lay for the first two miles through open park-like country. We then entered the forest, where the darkness made it difficult to drag the gun, the wheels of which constantly stuck in the stumps and roots of trees. Several times we had to halt, for the rear to come up with this unmanageable gun, and I feared the delay might destroy our chance of taking the enemy by surprise.

To make matters worse, the route became swampy. Sometimes the horses sank nearly hock-deep in mud,

[1] My little station, Hellet-et-Sit, was a mile and a half north from the camp of Gondokoro, on the river's bank.

which in the pitch darkness they could not avoid. In such places it required the force of thirty men to drag the gun, and the delays became serious. Lieutenant-Colonel Tayib Agha commanded the three companies of Soudani troops who escorted the field-piece, and took it in turns to assist the artillerymen in the weary work of dragging the gun through swamps and bush.

The night wore on; it began to rain. I was riding in advance with Lieutenant Baker, Mr. Higginbotham, and twenty of the "Forty Thieves," while Raouf Bey followed me with fifty Egyptian troops. It was absolutely necessary to push on. Tayib Agha had a native guide, therefore he and his gun could take care of themselves. Accordingly I pushed on ahead as an advanced guard, delighted to be quit of the impediment of artillery.

In about an hour we arrived at firm ground, and the country became more open and undulating. The clouds began to break and the rain ceased. We pushed briskly forward until, after marching at the pace of four miles per hour, the guide, Sherroom, suddenly halted. We were now in a clear space where a few large trees grew in a clump upon our right. Sherroom, who evidently knew every inch of the country, now whispered that we must wait here in

silence, as there were villages not far off, and the stockade that we were to attack was in the immediate neighbourhood. It was nearly 5 A.M., and although we had marched since one o'clock, we were not more than nine miles from Gondokoro. I trusted that our halt would allow the rear to join us with the gun which had caused so much delay.

We waited for about half an hour in perfect silence. There was not a star upon the sky, which was dark and murky; thus we could distinguish nothing. At length the black night began to grow more grey, and we could just make out some dark masses, that appeared to be villages, upon the right and left. We now marched rapidly, but without the slightest noise. The morning grew greyer, and birds began to whistle. We could now distinguish trees and the tall crops of dhurra.

There was no sign of Tayib.Agha and his detachment, but it was absolutely necessary to push forward.

We were thus hurrying on, sometimes through cultivated fields, at others through strips of forest, when we suddenly heard the long, shrill cry that is the native signal of danger. This was from a Bari watchman, who, more awake than those by whom we must have passed unobserved, now gave the alarm. This cry was immediately repeated in

various directions. There was no time to be lost. Sherroom bounded forward like an antelope, at a pace that kept our horses at a hand gallop. In a couple of minutes we saw a large circular stockade in a clear space, but within fifty yards of the forest on our left. We galloped up, followed closely by the "Forty Thieves," who ran like hounds. I immediately surrounded the stockade, from which the natives had commenced to shoot their arrows. The Egyptian troops were close up, and in the uncertain light it was impossible to see the arrows in their flight; thus one soldier was immediately wounded; another received a shot through his trousers. An arrow stuck in Mr. Higginbotham's saddle, and they began to fly about very viciously. The "Forty Thieves" now opened fire, while the Egyptians were drawn up in a line about fifty yards from the stockade. It was rather awkward, as the defence was a circle: thus as the troops fired into a common centre, the bullets that passed through the intervening spaces between the uprights of hard wood came pinging about our ears. The sky had become grey, and there was now sufficient light to discover the doorway of the stockade. I ordered the bugles to sound "cease firing," and prepared to force the entrance. This was a narrow archway about four

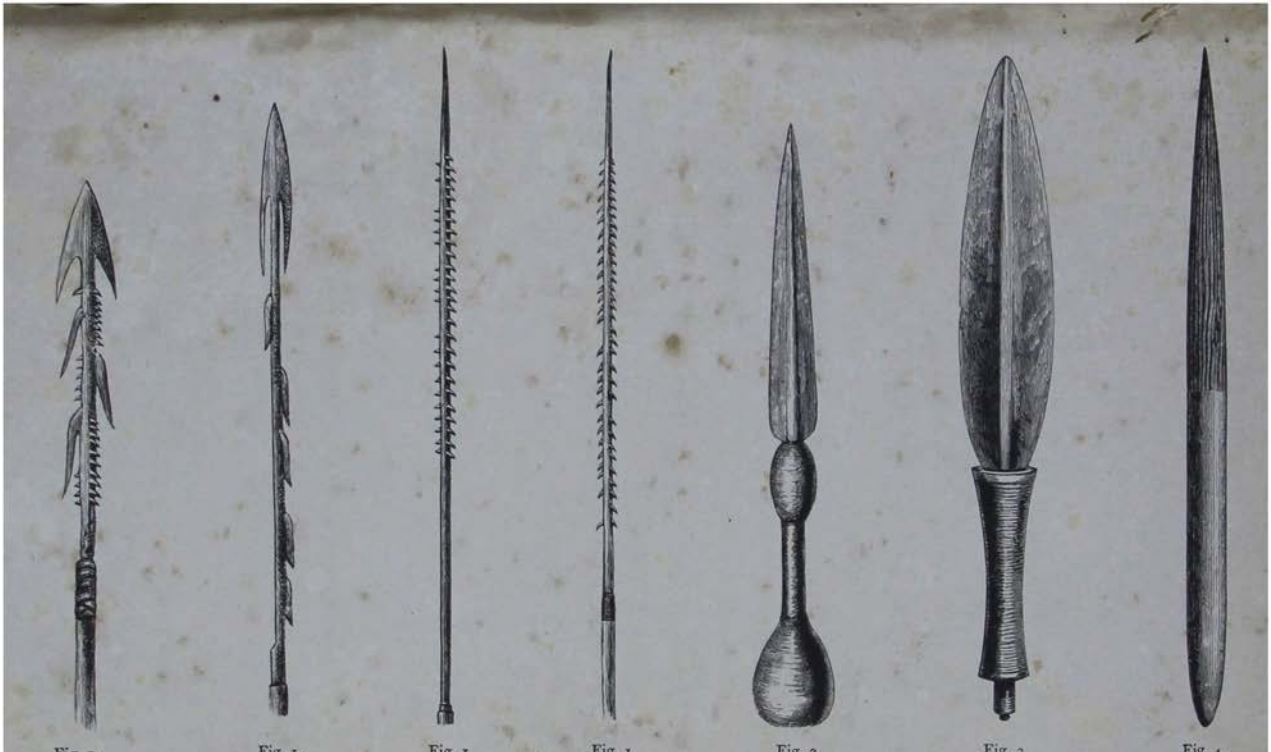

Fig. 1. Fig. 1. Fig. 1 Fig. 1. Fig. 2. Fig. 3. Fig. 4.

Fig. 1.—Arrow heads of the Bari tribe, about seven inches long, copied from arrows in possession of Sir Samuel W. Baker.
,, 2.—Elephant spears of Unyoro and Umiro, weighted at the end for dropping upon the animal by the hunter concealed in the branches of a tree.
,, 3.—Unyoro knife—the handle bound with copper wire.
,, 4.—Sharp pointed club of iron-wood, used by the Shir tribe.

feet six inches high, constructed of large pieces of hard wood that it was impossible to destroy. The doorway was stopped by transverse bars of abdnoos, or Bari ebony, and protected by a mass of hooked thorn that had been dragged into the passage and jammed beneath the cross-bars.

I ordered Lieutenant-Colonel Abd-el-Kader to force the gateway. This he immediately commenced, assisted by Lieutenant Baker and Mr. Higginbotham, together with a party of the "Forty Thieves," while others of the same corps closed up to the stockade on either side the entrance, and kept up a heavy fire to protect the attack.

In the meantime, the immense drum within the stockade was thundering out the summons to collect the whole of the neighbourhood for war. This signal was answered by the heavy booming sound of innumerable drums throughout the district far and near; and as it had now become light, I could distinguish the natives collecting from all parts and evidently surrounding our position. I therefore posted my men as skirmishers around the circle about eighty yards distant from the stockade, facing outwards, while the small party forced the gateway.

The fire of the snider rifles and the steady shooting of the "Forty Thieves" quickly reduced the number

of arrows, and the natives, finding that it was getting too hot, suddenly made a dash by a secret entrance and rushed through the troops, now of necessity widely scattered, and they gained the forest.

At the same time the gateway was forced, and we found a prize within of upwards of six hundred cows. The stockade, or zareeba, was immensely strong, formed of massive logs of iron-wood deeply imbedded in the earth, and arranged so closely together that not one bullet out of ten would have found its way through the crevices if fired from a distance. The proper way to attack the circular strongholds is to make a sudden rush close up to the defence, and to lay the rifle between the openings; the stockade then becomes a protection to the attacking party, as there is no flank fire to enfilade them.

The natives were now gathering on all sides; but we were in possession, and although our party consisted of only seventy men, we had an impregnable position, which I could hold until joined by Tayib Agha. I accordingly took a few of the "Forty Thieves" to a distance of about 150 paces away from the centre, and concealed them as sharpshooters, wherever I found a convenient cover. The fire of the sniders kept the enemy at a respectful distance, and I took a few shots myself

at long range to teach them the real value of a snider rifle.

There were no signs of Tayib Agha. The sun was risen, and clouds of steam began to rise from the wet ground and the dripping trees. I ordered some grass huts to be fired, as the volume of smoke might attract the attention of Tayib Agha's detachment, which had evidently gone astray. If near, they must have heard the sound of our rifles.

The huts were soon in flames, and the smoke rose high in air, which would be a signal to be seen from a great distance.

I sent two buglers to the top of a tall tree, from which elevated post they blew the call for the lieutenant-colonel and his three companies continually for about half an hour.

We were hungry, therefore a fat calf was killed, and cooking immediately commenced. I had a little box of salt and pepper, together with some biscuits; thus we were in luxury. My good Monsoor was a fair cook; therefore the fat, kidneys, and liver having been cut into pieces about two inches square, and arranged on a steel ramrod, were well salted and peppered, and laid on the red-hot embers when the flame and smoke had subsided. There is nothing so good as kabobs thus simply prepared: the ramrod

is then stuck upright in the ground, and you sit down and cut off the pieces as required. Salt should always be carried mixed with black and red pepper in proper proportions; it saves much trouble.

We were enjoying our breakfast; the cows lately captured gave plenty of milk, which our servants had boiled in the Baris' earthen pots, and we were discussing the possibility of Tayib Agha having lost his way, when we heard distant shots fired on the open hills at the foot of Belinian mountain, about a mile and a half to our right. We shortly distinguished smoke, which was a reply to our signal. It was evident that Tayib Agha had strayed far to the south, but it was satisfactory to know that he had seen our position.

We could now distinguish the troops with the telescope, and even make out the gun that was dragged by about twenty men. They were on their direct way to join us.

My men had captured three young girls, whom they brought to me. The oldest was about fifteen, and was pretty and intelligent: she had formerly been a slave of the traders, and was marked, according to their custom, by several scars on either cheek. This girl spoke good Arabic, and did not appear to show the slightest alarm.

I asked her why the Belinian Baris had attacked us, and taken cattle from the station at Gondokoro, without the slightest provocation? She replied that they had been invited by the sheik Allorron to become allies, therefore they had attacked us and driven off the cows, some of which were now among the cattle we had that morning captured.

I told her that we never took slaves, therefore she and her companions might return to the Baris, and inform them that I had come upon the tracks of the cattle which they had driven off from Gondokoro. If they desired peace, I should be happy to treat with them, but if they should return to attack us at head-quarters, I should not spare them, but I would utterly root them out of the neighbourhood. The girls laughed and started off, not in the least disturbed by the scene around them.

At length, Tayib Agha's detachment arrived. They were very angry with Morgiān, the guide, who, they declared, had purposely misled them. This was not the fact; the man had lost his way in the dark in the endeavour to seek a better path for the gun. However, we were now united, and I ordered the men to breakfast.

The sniders had cleared the natives from the vicinity, and now that we had been reinforced by

Tayib Agha's party, there was no hope for the Baris. They accordingly kept aloof, and merely watched our movements from the tops of high trees, where they perched like cormorants, and saw the enjoyment of the troops, engaged in roasting beef that had lately been their own.

I fully expected a difficulty with the natives when we should attempt to drive the herd of strange cattle through the jungle path to Gondokoro. I therefore determined to make a reconnaissance of the neighbourhood when the men should have finished their breakfast, in order to drive the Baris from the vicinity, and thus obtain a fair start for the cattle.

Leaving one company to protect the stockade and captured cattle, I took the remaining three companies and the gun, and extending the line in open order, with skirmishers thrown out in front and the gun in the centre, we advanced through the country.

A large river bed, now almost dry, with very abrupt banks, lay on our left. The wood became thinner, and we suddenly emerged upon a broad, open valley or plain, which was bounded on our right by the high mountain of Belinian, about a mile and a half distant.

This plain was covered with villages, and the entire country was green with cultivation, the dhurra being

then about two feet high. The gun-carriage ran easily over the flat ground, and we advanced rapidly forward, the Baris clearing out of their villages and gathering on our flanks as we approached. A shot from the gun sent an eight-pound shell which exploded in the air above a group about 700 yards distant. This was sufficient notice to quit. The enemy dared not stand upon open ground; thus, after we had driven them forward for about two miles, we faced about and returned to the stockade.

We now opened the gateway and drove out the hungry cattle. They looked very wild, and I rather feared a stampede; it was necessary to leave them in the hands of our two allies, Sherroom, and Morgiān, as the cattle neither understood Arabic nor the manners or customs of the Egyptians. After a little whistling and coaxing in the Bari language, the herd started, well protected by troops on both flanks, and an advance guard at 150 paces' distance. The rear was brought up by the gun and the "Forty Thieves."

The natives appeared to be under the impression that we were going to pass the night at the zareeba; thus they had no knowledge of our start, and we arrivèd at Gondokoro and entered the station about

an hour after sunset, having been out nineteen hours.

I now learnt that the Baris of Gondokoro had imagined that the greater portion of the troops had gone to Belinian for an excursion of some days; they had accordingly beaten their big drums and gathered together from all quarters to attack the camp, but discretion overcame their valour when they found a large force still at head-quarters.

On June 9, eight vessels of Agād's hove in sight, and with a fair breeze they arrived opposite the island at 2.30 P.M.

Abou Saood was in one of these vessels.

June 10, Abou Saood presented himself to me this morning. His vessels, being without cargoes, benefited much by our work in the sudd. He found all our cuttings open, therefore he had no difficulty until he arrived at the dam, through which his people cut a passage. The great rush of water scoured a deep channel, and his squadron of light vessels came on without difficulty. I ordered Abou Saood's people to camp on the west bank of the river, as I did not wish them to be in constant communication with my troops, who would quickly become contaminated by their morals.

The news brought by Abou Saood from Khartoum

informed me of the death of Agād; therefore the representation of the firm of Agād & Co. had now devolved upon Abou Saood, his son-in-law.

I now heard that the people of Abou Saood, who numbered about 500 men, had brought with them a large herd of cattle which they had driven along the west bank of the river; thus in direct defiance of the government authority, he had made a razzia upon some tribe during his voyage, and he had not scrupled to present himself to me with the herd of stolen cattle staring me in the face on the other side of the water.

On my way up from the Bahr Giraffe I had left a Turkish major, Achmet Rafik Effendi, with a corporal and five men, in the Shir tribe, about forty miles from Gondokoro, with a friendly sheik named Niambore. This sheik was the tallest and most powerful man that I ever saw in Africa, and he was a trustworthy and good fellow. He had promised to cultivate a farm for the government, therefore I had given him ten bushels of dhurra for seed, and I had left with him at his request the officer and soldiers, to represent the government and to superintend the cultivation.

I now discovered that Abou Saood had attacked the natives without any provocation, and had

carried off the cattle from the country adjoining Niambore's district.

The natives would naturally imagine that my officer and six men were spies who had directed Abou Saood to their cattle, and there would be a great chance of a conflict between Niambore, their protector, and his neighbours who had been robbed.

I observed with the telescope that the people of Abou Saood who arrived with the herd of cattle were accompanied by a great number of natives, and the Baris of Gondokoro, who were at open war with us, flocked to welcome the new comers as old friends who had been long absent. The brigands had as usual arrived with a large herd of cattle, which in Africa is always the best introduction; thus the robber tribe of Allorron was delighted at the return of those who had always led them to plunder, and had enriched them with the spoil of cows and slaves. I find the following entry in my journal, dated—

"*June* 12, 1871.—The natives who are at war with us have been gathering in large numbers to the spot on the west bank occupied by Abou Saood's people. The latter are actually holding friendly intercourse with them, and the Baris are quite at home assisting these rascals in erecting

their camp, although they positively refused to work for the government upon our first arrival. This is the treasonable conduct of Abou Saood, who knows perfectly well that we are at open war with the Baris.

"His large herd of about 1,400 fat cattle were driven along in triumph, followed by the admiring population of thieving niggers, who hail his arrival as the harbinger of fat times, Gondokoro being the general depot for all stolen cattle, slaves, &c., and the starting point for every piratical expedition.

"In the afternoon I started in a dingy, accompanied by Colonel Abd-el-Kader, Lieutenant Baker, Monsoor and four soldiers, to visit the traders' camp on the west side of the river.

"Seeing me approach, a great number of Baris left the traders, and taking to a precipitate flight they disappeared in the high reeds. The traders' people received me without the slightest mark of respect, and one insolent fellow swaggered up and stared me in the face with a pipe in his mouth as a studied insult.

"I went to the cattle pens and immediately placed my four soldiers as sentries over the herd, which I confiscated, as a warning to these ruffianly slave-hunters.

"It would be a disgrace to tolerate these thieves, as

Gondokoro is rendered a perfect hell, and the natives will naturally abhor any lawful government so long as they can consort and share spoils with such brigands as these so-called traders of Khartoum."

Upon my return home I wrote an official letter to Abou Saood of which the following is a copy:—

"ISMAILÏA, or GONDOKORO, *June* 12, 1871.

"*To Abou Saood, vakeel of the firm of Agād & Co.*

"SIR,

"You arrived here on the 10th inst. with a large number of cattle stolen by you and your people.

"You, knowing that the Baris were at war with the government, have nevertheless been in daily and friendly communication with them.

"The Baris of this country are rendered hostile to all honest government by the conduct of your people, who, by stealing slaves and cattle from the interior, and delivering them here, have utterly destroyed all hope of improvement in a people naturally savage, but now rendered by your acts thieves of the worst description.

"It is impossible that I can permit the continuance of such acts.

"I therefore give you due notice that at the expiration of your contract you will withdraw all your

people from the district under my command. At the same time I declare the forfeiture to the government of the cattle you have forcibly captured under the eyes of my authority.

"SAMUEL W. BAKER."

The only error that I can acknowledge throughout the expedition was my present leniency. I should at once have placed Abou Saood in irons, and have sent him to Khartoum, instead of leaving him at large to carry on his intrigues against the government.

I intended on the first opportunity to send notice to the Shir tribe of the safety of their cattle, but an incident shortly occurred that altered my determination.[1]

At the same time that Abou Saood was in disgrace, he was a bosom friend of the colonel, Raouf Bey, who commanded my troops. They dined together constantly in the house of the latter officer, and their friendship had originally commenced in Khartoum during the long interval that the regiments were awaiting my arrival from Cairo. It was during that interval that the officers of the expedition had

[1] These cattle were kept in a separate pen or zareeba, and were guarded when at pasturage by special soldiers for some weeks, in order that they should be returned to the Shir tribe upon the first opportunity.

fraternised with the White Nile traders who resided at Khartoum.

The result of such intimacy might be imagined.

The object of the expedition had always been distasteful to both officers and men. The traders had already seen by the examples made at Tewfikeeyah that I should actually destroy their cherished slave-trade. It was therefore natural that Abou Saood should exert himself to ruin the expedition. Having a friend in Raouf Bey, he was in a position to create division of opinion. He constantly associated with this officer, in order that it should be generally known that he was supported by an influential person in the government service. The scandal of the camp quickly assumed that the opinions concerning the slave-traders between myself and Raouf Bey were at variance.

The officers of the expedition had, contrary to my express orders, purchased 126 slaves from the stations of the traders during the White Nile voyage! I had only learnt this on arrival at Gondokoro; thus when corn was so scarce that the rations were reduced, while those of meat were increased, we had an addition of 126 mouths!

The policy of the slave-traders was identical with the feelings of the officers and men, all of

whom wished to abandon the expedition and return to Khartoum. Abou Saood worked mole-like in his intrigues. He fraternised secretly with Allorron and his Baris. Many of his men purchased tobacco from the natives in exchange for ammunition. The natives from Belinian were in daily communication with Abou Saood's camp, and their spies obtained information of our proceedings, and carried the news throughout the country that "they would be supported by Abou Saood against my authority."

I learnt everything that occurred through trustworthy agents. It quickly became known that Raouf Bey was desirous to terminate the expedition. The contagion spread rapidly, and the men worked languidly and without the slightest interest: they had made up their minds that the expedition was a failure, and that a scarcity of corn would be their excuse for a return to Khartoum. Abou Saood fanned the flame among the officers, and discontent became general.

In the meantime the Baris were very active in annoying the camp at night. Although these natives could not stand against the troops in the open, they harassed them by necessitating a perpetual vigilance both by night and day. It was necessary to have strong patrols in two parties at all hours;

and I regret to say the Egyptian officers and men did not appear to enjoy a state of war where activity and good discipline were absolutely necessary. The Soudani officers and men, although ignorant, were far superior to the Egyptians in activity and courage.

Unfortunately the camp was sickly. The men now suffered from the fatigue of the long voyage through slush and marsh. Many had fever and dysentery. Ulcerated legs were prevalent; and this disease appeared to be contagious. Many men died from these malignant ulcers, which in some cases entirely destroyed the foot. The women did not suffer from this complaint. It originated from a poisonous grass that festered the wound it gave, and rapidly produced an incurable sore. As the women had not been exposed to the work in the marshes, they had escaped the scourge inflicted by the sharp edges of the grass.

There was no rest for the people; they had to build their camp and fight the Baris at the same time. A scarcity of corn stared them in the face. The officers and men were well aware that we could not hope for regular supplies of corn and reinforcements of troops from Khartoum in the dreadful state of the river: thus they felt their

position keenly, as sick, dispirited, in the midst of enemies, with approaching famine of corn, and no communication with the Soudan. All these difficulties were to be endured for the sake of an object which they detested—"the suppression of the slave trade."

## CHAPTER IX.

### NEW ENEMIES.

Our enemies were not confined to the land only: the crocodiles in the neighbourhood of Gondokoro were exceedingly ferocious. As the natives were so much in the habit of swimming to and fro with their cattle, these wily creatures had been always accustomed to claim a toll in the shape of a cow, calf, or nigger. Two of Abou Saood's sailors were carried off on two consecutive days. One of my soldiers, while engaged with many others in the water, only hip deep, was seized by a crocodile. The man, being held by the leg below the knee, made a good fight, and thrust his fingers into the creature's eyes; his comrades at the same time assisted and rescued him from absolute destruction; but the leg-bone was so mashed and splintered in many places that he was obliged to submit to amputation.

One of my sailors had a narrow escape. He and many others were engaged in collecting the leaves of a species of water-convolvulus that make an excellent spinach; this plant is rooted on the muddy bank, but it runs upon the surface of the water, upon which its pink blossoms are very ornamental.

The sailor was stooping from the bank to gather the floating leaves, when he was suddenly seized by the arm at the elbow-joint; his friends immediately caught him round the waist, and their united efforts prevented him from being dragged into the water. The crocodile, having tasted blood, would not quit its hold, but tugged and wrenched the arm completely off at the elbow-joint, and went off with its prize. The unfortunate man, in excruciating agony, was brought to the camp, where it was necessary to amputate another piece slightly above the lacerated joint.

I made a point of carrying a rifle at all times, simply to destroy these terrible reptiles. There never was a better rifle than "the Dutchman," made by Holland, of Bond Street. This little weapon was a double-barrelled breechloader, and carried the Boxer bullet of government calibre, with a charge of three drachms of powder. The accuracy of both barrels was

extraordinary; it was only sighted up to 250 yards, but by taking the bead very full, it carried with great precision up to 300. I could generally make certain of crocodiles if basking on a sand-bank within a hundred yards, as I could put the bullet exactly in the right place, either behind the eye, or right through the centre of the shoulder. This handy rifle weighed 9¾lbs., and throughout the expedition it was almost as much one of my component parts as a bone of my body. I had a large supply of ammunition; thus I never lost an opportunity of shooting at a crocodile's head if I saw one above the surface. On many occasions they never moved from the shot when basking on sand-banks, but were simply extinguished.

One of our women went to the river to wash, but never returned. This was close to our diahbeeah; and the water being shallow, there is no doubt that she was seized by a crocodile.

I was one day returning from head-quarters to my station, a distance of a mile and a half along the river's bank, when I noticed the large head of a crocodile about thirty yards from the shore. I knew every inch of the river, and I was satisfied that the water was shallow. A solitary piece of waving rush that grew upon the bank, exactly opposite

the crocodile, would mark the position; thus, stooping down, I quietly retreated inland from the bank, and then running forward, I crept gently towards the rush. Stooping as low as possible, I advanced till very near the bank (upon which grew tufts of grass), until, by slowly raising my head, I could observe the head of the crocodile in the same position, not more than twenty-six or twenty-eight yards from me. At that distance, the Dutchman could hit a half-crown; I therefore made sure of bagging. The bank was about four feet above the water; thus the angle was favourable, and I aimed just behind the eye. Almost as I touched the trigger, the crocodile gave a convulsive start, and turning slowly on its back, it stretched its four legs above the surface, straining every muscle; it then remained motionless in this position in water about two feet deep.

My horse was always furnished with a long halter or tethering-rope: thus I ordered the syce and another man to jump into the river and secure the crocodile by a rope fastened round the body behind the fore-legs. This was quickly accomplished, and the men remained knee-deep hauling upon the rope to prevent the stream from carrying away the body. In the meantime Monsoor had mounted my

horse and galloped off for assistance to the camp of the "Forty Thieves."

Crocodiles are very tenacious of life, and although they may be shot through the brain and be actually dead for all practical purposes, they will remain motionless at first, but they will begin instinctively to move the limbs and tail a few minutes after receiving the shot. If lying upon a sand-bank, or in deep water, they would generally disappear unless secured by a rope, as the spasmodic movements of the limbs and tail would act upon the water, and the body would be carried away.

The crocodile, that had appeared stone dead, now began to move its tail, and my two men who were holding on to the rope cried out that it was still alive. It was in vain that I assured the frightened fellows that it was dead. I was on the bank, and they were in the water within a few feet of the crocodile, which made some difference in our ideas of its vivacity. Presently the creature really began to struggle, and the united efforts of the men could hardly restrain it from getting into deeper water. The monster now began to yawn, which so terrified the men that they would have dropped the rope and fled had they not been afraid of the consequences, as I was addressing them rather forcibly from the

LANDING A CROCODILE AT GONDOKORO.

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bank. I put another shot through the shoulder of the struggling monster, which appeared to act as a narcotic until the arrival of the soldiers with ropes. No sooner was the crocodile well secured than it began to struggle violently; but a great number of men hauled upon the rope, and when it was safely landed, I gave it a blow with a sharp axe on the back of the neck, which killed it by dividing the spine.

It was now dragged along the turf until we reached the camp, where it was carefully measured with a tape, and showed an exact length of 12 feet 3 inches from snout to end of tail.

The stomach contained about five pounds' weight of pebbles, as though it had fed upon flesh resting upon a gravel bank, and had swallowed the pebbles that had adhered. Mixed with the pebbles was a greenish, slimy matter that appeared woolly. In the midst of this were three undeniable witnesses that convicted the crocodile of wilful murder. A necklace and two armlets, such as are worn by the negro girls, were taken from the stomach! The girl had been digested. This was an old male-factor that was a good riddance.

I have frequently seen crocodiles upwards of eighteen feet in length, and there can be little doubt

that they sometimes exceed twenty; but a very small creature of this species may carry away a man while swimming. The crocodile does not attempt to swallow an animal at once, but having carried it to a favourite feeding-place, generally in some deep hole, it tears it limb from limb with teeth and claws and devours it at leisure.

The camp of the "Forty Thieves" had been finished some time since: the gardens were flourishing, and I erected a "shadoof," or Egyptian double bucket and lever for irrigation. Two men could lift and throw out 3,600 gallons per hour. I made the calculation as nearly as possible: the iron buckets contained slightly more than four gallons each; thus, two men with the double shadoof lifted eight gallons every eight seconds (or one lift in eight seconds): a gallon per second gave 3,600 per hour.

I never allowed the "Forty Thieves" to work at the general head-quarters, but kept them as my personal escort. When at Tewfikeeyah I had been particular in their drill, and I had endeavoured to teach them to shoot accurately. The Egyptians became better shots than the Soudanis, but I much preferred the latter; by degrees I drafted out all the Egyptians excepting four, and filled their

places with well-selected blacks, mostly taken from the grenadier company of the regiment.

At the commencement of the expedition this small body of men had well earned the title of the "Forty *Thieves*" by which they were always known among the English party, although publicly in the camp they were only designated as "The Forty."

I had taken great personal care of this little corps, and the result was most satisfactory. The thieves had been got rid of. I never forgave a fault until after punishment had been received: I never allowed the doctor to attend them when ill, but invariably attended to them myself. I had endeavoured to instil a feeling of pride among them, and encouraged them with an idea of their superiority to the other regiments. I actually succeeded in establishing a code of honour throughout the corps, until it was considered a disgrace to "The Forty" that a theft should be committed. "Is he not one of '*The Forty*'?" was the usual exclamation if any doubt was thrown on the character of a soldier. The fact of his belonging to "The Forty" was a sufficient certificate.

The regimental arrangements at head-quarters had been sadly neglected, as the men were necessarily

so much engaged in other work that they had no time for drill except on Fridays. The "Forty Thieves" were well officered, having the advantage of a lieutenant-colonel and a captain, together with two most active and courageous lieutenants, who had lately received their promotion for good conduct: these were my faithful Monsoor Agha, and Ferritch Agha. The young soldier, who had been condemned to be shot for desertion the previous year, had shown such devotion and activity that he was promised the next vacancy in the rank of corporal. The non-commissioned officers were soldiers who had seen much service, and the corps was in a highly efficient state with the exception of the rifle practice.

While at Tewfikeeyah, having paid much attention to this all-important point, I had instructed the officers and men personally, and I had established prize-shooting to give an additional interest to the work. Both officers and men now took an immense pleasure in rifle practice, but it appeared almost impossible to make them good shots. Out of forty-eight officers and men, I had only fifteen who could be called real hitters;—the others were only shooters.

The great difficulty was to instruct them in dis-

tances. I frequently took them away from camp and made them guess the distance in paces from some particular object, such as a tree, or white-ant hill. Very few of the men had the slightest idea of this important subject; but at the commencement, even the officers were perfectly ignorant. At length, by constant practice at the target, varying the range from 100 to 300 yards, about a third of the corps became fair shots, and these few were tolerably good judges of distance up to 400 yards. The colonel, Abd-el-Kader, became an excellent shot, as he was an officer who took great interest in his profession. The remainder of the corps shot as well as they could, and took great pains; but although they were considered crack marksmen by the line-regiments, their reputation would have suffered if their deficiencies had been exposed. At any rate, they were very dangerous with such a weapon as the snider, when firing into masses of the enemy.

I distinguished "The Forty" from the line regiment by a scarlet uniform; this was a simple red flannel shirt, worn outside their Zouave trousers, and secured by a belt, with ammunition-pouches, round the waist. This uniform, with linen gaiters, and with a head-dress of the scarlet fez, bound by a turban of cobalt blue, looked remarkably well.

In active service, the officers carried sniders; thus, the corps complete consisted of forty-eight sniders; but together with Lieutenant Baker and myself, it comprised fifty rifles.

The high state of discipline and the fine *morale* of this little force was a good example of what may be effected, even with a material of so low a reputation as the negro. My men were natives of various tribes scattered over an immense extent of Central Africa. Each had a certain love of the country from which he had been originally stolen by the slave-traders when a boy, before he found his way into government service. I always endeavoured to keep up this feeling, and to create emulation among the men of different tribes; thus, a native of Pongo would assume a superiority over a Dinka, although the Dinka considered himself of a higher class than a Pongo. A Noba regarded himself as superior to all others. But by degrees I established a principle that was generally accepted by them all—that an old soldier with a good reputation should take precedence of all others, without reference to caste or tribe. Thus, the aim of all young privates would be to become old soldiers, and to rise in rank according to their merits. There were several excellent examples of good soldiers in "The Forty," among whom stood

first Mohammed-el-Feel, sergeant of the body-guard. The latter comprised ten men, selected from "The Forty" as *crême de la crême;* these men were exempted from all labour, and they formed the guard of two sentries by night, and one by day.

The discipline of this picked corps—"Abd-el-Kader and the Forty Thieves"—was the commencement of a great moral reform, that resulted in an improved tone throughout the force, which ultimately did the great work of the expedition.

The efficiency of "The Forty" was an established fact of what could be accomplished where officers and men were governed by that peculiar confidence that bound them together as one man. Throughout the expedition, after this confidence had been once established, I never for an instant doubted the fidelity of my men; they would have followed me through fire or water, without the slightest hesitation. In action, "The Forty" were always in advance, and they were watched with eagerness and even pride by the other regiments: when thrown out as skirmishers they climbed rocks, pushed through jungles, and cleared the enemy from the country with irresistible activity. Promotion from the line to "The Forty" was considered as an honour, and so perfect was the *esprit de corps*, that in the event of a

vacancy being caused by sickness, or other cause, the men reported to me the character of the new-comer before he was admitted, and respectfully declined to receive him if he bore a doubtful reputation; virtually he was "black-balled."

A corps of this character was a nucleus for an extension of military morality. The "Forty Thieves" would not admit a thief; and they became generally accepted as a model of what government soldiers should become.

I believe that if it were possible to convert the greater portion of African savages into disciplined soldiers, it would be the most rapid stride towards their future civilization. The fact of obedience being enforced, and the necessity of order, industry, and discipline, together with clothing and cleanliness, is all that is absolutely required to bring a savage within the bounds of good management. A savage who has led a wild and uncontrolled life must first learn to obey authority before any great improvement can be expected. A soldier must obey, and he learns to respect his officers as his superiors; thus, a savage who has learnt all that he knows from his officers, whom he admits as his superiors, will quickly adopt their religion, as he has been obliged to adopt their military rules. My soldiers were all Moham-

medans, simply because they had been taught by their officers that good soldiers should be true believers.

As I have already described, my station was a mile and a half distant from head-quarters, and the arrangements under my personal inspection were very different from the lax discipline of the officers at Gondokoro.

The natives of Belinian had disregarded the warning they had received, and now, having leagued themselves with the Baris of Gondokoro, they were constantly on the watch for an opportunity of surprising the cattle guards. Concealing themselves behind thick foliage, they stalked the careless sentries with the adroitness of American Indians, and sometimes succeeded in making a dash and driving off a few head of cattle.

I was obliged to take extra precautions during the night, as my little station was dependent only upon "The Forty," while the camp at head-quarters was occupied by 1,100 men, in addition to about 400 sailors, and the six Englishmen.

The natives disturbed us every night, and were constantly fired at by the sentries. I served out cartridges containing eight-mould shot, each to be rammed down over the ball in the muskets for

the night sentries: these would be more likely to hit a thief in the dark than a single bullet. The muskets were given to the sentries in addition to their rifles.

I placed my men every night, concealed by cover so as to command the various approaches. The station was conveniently situated, as a large and deep lake completely defended the north flank for a distance of about 400 yards. The river defended the east face: thus we were only open on two sides, one of which was commanded by the camp of "The Forty."

On 28th June it rained steadily during the night. The Baris considered that our sentries would be under cover, or would most likely not expect an attack; they therefore resolved to attempt a surprise. Their advanced scouts approached warily in the dark, but long before they had reached the sentries, they passed within a few feet of a party of guards concealed behind a white-ant hill. A shot from a musket stretched one Bari dead. The guards pounced upon another and seized him by the throat. This was a native of Belinian; he was accordingly hanged on the following morning to a tree in the pathway by which the Belinian Baris arrived through the forest to attack

the camp. This it was hoped would be a warning that might deter others.[1]

On 5th July the natives made an attempt on the cattle, and shot a sentry with an arrow.

On 7th July the Baris attacked the camp during the night.

On 8th July I sent a company to take possession and to hold the island. They met the natives; and Monsoor and Achmet Bash Choush had a narrow escape from lances. The Baris lost three killed and two prisoners.

On that day the river rose four feet six, which was the highest flood during the wet season.

On 10th July, at mid-day, several hundred Baris, having cautiously approached the grazing cattle unobserved, made a sudden rush from the bushes upon the guards, killing one soldier and wounding another. The soldiers belonged to the line, and must have behaved badly, as the musket and cartouche-box and belt were stolen and carried off from the dead man. The shots from the guard immediately alarmed the camp. The horses were saddled, and, attended by Lieutenant Baker, I rode hard in pur-

[1] Throughout the expedition this was the only native who was hanged. Neither was any native shot or otherwise executed when taken prisoner, except a spy at Belinian.

suit. The natives had gained the forest and had scattered, but we rode a red-painted savage to bay, who fought to the last, shooting two arrows at me, which I avoided by dropping quickly on my horse's neck, and a third arrow stuck deeply in Mr. Baker's saddle as he escaped the well-aimed shot by spurring his horse across the line of sight. These arrows were shot at a distance of a very few yards. The native was killed.

On 12th July the Baris attempted to surprise both my station and the camp at head-quarters.

On the 13th the natives repeated the attempt; but one was shot dead by the sentry at Gondokoro; also another met the same fate at my station.

Nearly every night we were subject to attempts at surprise. This was excellent practice for the troops, as it taught them the necessity of keeping a good look-out; at the same time it was very wearying, as the men had to work hard all day, and they were kept awake at night.

The Baris were irrepressible vermin that gave us no rest. My men were all occupied in building the station, therefore it was impossible for me to take a flying column and give the Baris a severe lesson; but I made up my mind that when the work should be finished, I would take the fight out

of them most thoroughly. They now considered us fair game, that they might insult as they thought proper; and I heard from our two faithful allies, Sherroom and Morgiān, that they imagined we should become afraid of them, and then return to Khartoum.

They teased us at night like rats, but they lost many men. I rather admired them for their persistence, as the scouts must have been adventurous fellows. Whenever these people were taken prisoners, they confessed that they were the spies of the main body that was concealed at some distance in the rear. The favourite method of a Bari attack is during the night, when the darkness reduces the danger of fire-arms. On such occasions they generally halt either in forest or high grass, according to circumstances, about half a mile from the camp they propose to attack. Scouts are sent forward to ascertain the position and vigilance of sentries before the advance of the main body. The scouts, being quite naked, crawl upon their hands and knees until the darkness permits them to approach within a few yards of the sentries. They then lie flat upon their bellies unobserved until they can retreat to the expectant body in their rear.

The attacking force now advances in perfect silence, and approaching upon hands and knees in

the same manner as the scouts, they suddenly spring upon the sentries, and with wild yells make a general rush upon the camp. This sudden attack would be extremely dangerous unless provided against; and in this manner large parties of the slave-hunters have been completely destroyed.

Our passive resistance to the numerous native attempts at surprise had been misconstrued by the Baris into timidity. The news had spread throughout the country that we should not venture far inland: thus a grand alliance had been made among the tribes. The Baris desired to make friends with their powerful enemy, the Loquia: they accordingly invited this tribe to form an alliance and to join in a combined attack upon Gondokoro, by which means they hoped to overpower and destroy our force, and to become possessed of many thousand cattle which were now at head-quarters.

The Loquia consented; thus we were exposed to a grand coalition. In the meantime Abou Saood and his people, in their camp on the west side of the river, continued to be most friendly with the enemies of the government, and supplied the Belinian natives with ammunition.

At 1.30 A.M., on July 21, I was awakened by the sound of firing at head-quarters.

GENERAL NIGHT ATTACK ON THE STATION AT GONDOKORO. Vol. . p. 309.

I was dressed and armed in a few minutes. The bugle sounded the alarm, and "The Forty" fell into position.

I heard the bugles at head-quarters, together with a confused din of native drums, horns, and yells. The first shots had appeared to proceed from the sentries, but these were shortly succeeded by heavy file-firing from the whole force at the camp. An attack had evidently been made, and a regular fight was going on at head-quarters: it was therefore to be expected that my small force would soon have to act on the defensive. Spare ammunition was quickly in readiness, and we were well prepared.

In the meantime, a general action was growing hotter every moment; the yells of the natives and the din of their horns became louder. I was momentarily expecting to hear the sound of cannon, and I was speculating upon the effect that the fire of ten guns loaded with case shot would have among such a crowd of enemies; but to my astonishment not a gun was fired. Simply the roll of musketry continued.

In about half an hour the native yells grew fainter, the noise of their horns and drums was reduced, and the heavy firing dwindled to dropping shots. I heard the bugles sound "cease firing." I then

heard "the advance." Again firing commenced, this time in volleys; then I heard once more "cease firing," and then "the retreat:" the attack was repulsed.

I could not understand why my little station had not been attacked; but I subsequently heard that the natives were more afraid of the "Forty Thieves" than of the entire force. Added to this was the powerful reason that I had only a few cows for milk, while the attraction of many thousand head of cattle induced an attack on the camp at Gondokoro.

On the following morning before sunrise I rode up to camp to hear the news. It appeared that the natives had actually surprised the sentries. We had lost a corporal, killed; and a lieutenant and one soldier were wounded by arrows.

The Baris and the Loquia had attacked in large force with the intention of burning the station, as many were provided with flaming firebrands, with which they had advanced bravely to the edge of the thorn fence. Had the station not been protected by this defence it is probable that the enemy might have succeeded in firing the houses.

As usual, the troops had fired badly. Such a fusilade as I had heard should have covered the plain with dead. The officers and men declared

that great numbers of the enemy were killed, but their comrades had carried off the bodies. This was true to a certain extent, as I saw blood in many directions, and we found a Loquia lying dead with two bullet wounds, through the head and thigh.

There can be no doubt that the camp was surprised through the neglect of the patrol and the sleepiness of sentries, and it was only saved by the thorn fence and the fire of so large a force as 1,100 men. The colonel in command of the troops, Raouf Bey, could give no satisfactory explanation for the silence of the artillery, but he subsequently told me they *had forgotten its existence* in the excitement of the moment. Another officer told me they had brought up one gun, but could not find the key of the ammunition. I remembered what David said in his haste, and I came to the conclusion that they had been disgracefully surprised.

I determined to lose no time in protecting the station by a ditch and earthwork, so that I could leave a garrison without risk, and I would then attack the country in every direction.

The iron magazines were completed, and all goods and supplies were stored. The camp was so far finished that the men were housed. I therefore drew a plan for the fort, which I intrusted to the

care of Mr. Higginbotham, the chief engineer, for execution. I gave orders that all hands, including the sailors, should immediately be employed to dig the fosse. The expedition was well supplied with tools, and the work was commenced with vigour, as the officers and men did not object to have a deep ditch between them and the enemy.

I also planned a triangular fort as a protection to my small herd of about a hundred milch cows at my own station. The "Forty Thieves" did not require a fort, but the cattle might be carried off by a sudden rush that would induce a stampede unless they were well secured.

"The Forty" set to work, assisted daily by thirty men from head-quarters, and we soon had a strong fort, with ditch and rampart, that defied attack.

A short time after the grand surprise of the camp at head-quarters, the last attempt was made upon my little station, which ended as usual in my men being well on the alert, and in the death of one of the scouts, shot by the outlying guard through the thigh. Before he died, he confessed that the Belinian and the Loquia, together with the Baris of Gondokoro, had united in the general

attack on the camp on the 21st; but that they had lost many men, who, being badly wounded, had died on the road during the retreat.

My little station from this date went out of fashion, and the Baris declined to attack, as they subsequently declared that my sentries were never asleep like those at head-quarters.

"The Forty" had earned a reputation that increased their self-respect. Not only were they nearly sure to kill the wily scouts, but patrols at night searched out the natives, and generally came upon them with fatal effect.

## CHAPTER X.

### DESTRUCTION OF THE SHIR DETACHMENT.

On July 30, 1871, I was astonished by the arrival of the tall sheik, Niambore, with whom I had left an officer and six men in the Shir tribe, to superintend the cultivation of corn. This fine-looking fellow was introduced, accompanied by five of his principal advisers. He shortly told me his story. He had been four nights on the road, as he had not dared to travel by day, fearing the Baris: thus, in the dark, he had frequently wandered from the track. In the daytime he had slept in the concealment of forests.

He had run this risk in order to be the first to give me the bad news, lest I should suspect him of foul play. All my soldiers were killed, except the major, Achmet Rafik, and a corporal!

When Abou Saood had passed his country some weeks since, his people had attacked a neighbouring

sheik, and had carried off a large number of cattle, although he was aware of the presence of a government officer with a very small detachment. Abou Saood had sent three of the captured cows as a present to the officer in command, Achmet Rafik, who, instead of protesting against the razzia, had, Turk-like, actually accepted the present, and thus had fallen into the snare.

The natives, smarting under the unprovoked attack, visited Niambore, and desired him to send my men out of the country, as they were evidently leagued with those of Abou Saood. The sheik Niambore refused, and declared that he should protect them until he received further orders from me. This implicated Niambore, and the neighbours then insisted upon the sacrifice of Achmet Rafik and his few soldiers in revenge for their lost cattle. Niambore, with a chivalry that is rare among negroes, declared his determination of sheltering my people until he should communicate with me. He was attacked at night by the neighbouring sheiks; and my soldiers assisted him in the defence. The attack was repulsed, and he determined to return the compliment on the following day, with the assistance of the soldiers. After a long march across many deep channels, the battle went against

him, and in a precipitate retreat, the soldiers could not swim the deep channels like Niambore's people; they were accordingly overtaken and killed, with the loss of their arms and accoutrements, now in possession of the natives.

Major Achmet Rafik and a corporal were safe, as they were both ill, and had therefore not accompanied the five soldiers in the attack. Niambore had faithfully exposed himself to great danger in order to secure their protection, and they were now in his keeping, concealed in a forest about a day's march from the village which had been their station.

On the following day I sent the steamer off at 9 P.M. with Niambore and twenty men, the moon being full. The river had risen about four feet six inches, therefore there was no fear of her touching a sand-bank. At the same time I wrote to Abou Saood, giving him notice of his responsibility for the loss of the government troops, caused by his unprovoked and unjustifiable aggression.[1]

All my anticipations of successful cultivation had been fruitless. The drought of this year had caused a general scarcity. The months of July and August

[1] From that time, I of course gave up all ideas of returning the cattle that had been captured by Abou Saood, as I had originally intended. Such an act, after the destruction of my men, would have been received by the Shir as a proof of fear.

should have the heaviest rainfall; July had just expired with a rainfall of only 1·13 inch. The mean temperature had been $71\frac{5}{10}°$ at 6 A.M.; at noon, 84°.

I was very anxious about our supply of dhurra, which would not last much longer. On 1st August I ordered the troops to receive fifteen days' rations of rice, so as to save the small stock of dhurra until the crops should be ripe upon the island. These were guarded by a company of troops. I extract the following entry from my journal:—

"*August* 2, 1871.—The Soudani soldiers are discontented with their rations of dhurra; and to-day I was addressed by an unreasonable mob, demanding an increase of corn which does not exist. These people never think of to-morrow, and during the long voyage from Tewfikeeyah they have been stealing the corn, and drinking merissa heedless of the future.

"The black colonel, Tayib Agha, is much to blame for the discontent, as he has, upon several occasions, in *the presence of the troops*, told Mr. Higginbotham and myself that 'the men could not work well because they were hungry.' This foolish remark, made before the soldiers by their own lieutenant-colonel, is certain to create discontent.

"I went across to the island to examine the corn: the greater portion of the crop will be ready in

about eight days, but the Baris, in spite of the guards, are stealing large quantities during the night.

"The terrible difficulty in this country is the want of corn; and now that all direct communication with Khartoum is cut off by the obstructions in the Nile, the affair is most serious. The natives are all hostile, thus a powerful force is absolutely necessary, but the difficulty is to feed this force.

"I wrote an official letter to Raouf Bey to caution Lieutenant-Colonel Tayib Agha against making remarks in the presence of his troops."

On August 3 the steamer returned, bringing Achmet Rafik and the sole surviving soldier from the Shir. This officer declared his men to have been insubordinate, and that they joined the natives against his orders to make an attack upon their enemies in return for attacks on their part.

Two witnesses, the surviving soldier and the wife of one that was killed, declared that Achmet Rafik himself gave the men orders to fight the tribe, in company with the people of Niambore; but fearing responsibility for the result, he now laid the onus of failure upon the insubordination of the men.[1]

[1] The fact remained, that in consequence of the razzia made by Abou Saood's orders the natives attacked Niambore and my people. In self defence, Niambore and my few men returned the attack, and my soldiers were killed. The Shir were thus rendered hostile, with the exception of Niambore.

My people were so obtuse that they could not understand the true position of affairs. The harvest was commencing. I had jealously guarded the corn upon the island, which should have produced at least 500 urdeps; but the officers and men did not wish to see the granaries filled, as that fact would destroy the excuse for a return to Khartoum; thus, instead of labouring with heart and soul to gather the harvest, they worked so lazily, that in nine days they only reaped 237 urdeps, or not one half that was actually upon the fields. They permitted the natives to steal it by night, and the swarms of small birds destroyed an incredible quantity by day. These innumerable and ruinous pests do not consume the entire grain, but they nibble the soft sweet portion from the joint of each seed, neatly picking out the heart; thus the ground beneath is strewed with their remnants of destruction.

I had not visited Belinian since the first attack, for two reasons. First, we were engaged in fortifying the station; and, secondly, I did not wish to raise the suspicion among the Baris that I might come down suddenly upon their crops. Up to the present time we had acted mainly on the defensive, and the natives had no fear for their harvest. I

knew that about 2,000 acres of dhurra would be at our service by a sudden attack on Belinlan, if the troops would work earnestly to secure it. At the same time I was afraid to mention the subject, lest some intrigue might destroy the possibility of success.

If Abou Saood or his people had possessed a knowledge of my intentions, they would at once have given warning to our enemies, and would have destroyed my plans. Both Abou Saood and the greater number of the officers were anxiously watching the close of the drama, as they imagined that with the disappearance of supplies, the curtain would fall upon the last act.

I possessed information that would render me independent of corn from Khartoum, if the troops would only work honestly. We were at open war with the Baris, and we had been constantly subjected to their attacks. I had arranged my plans to complete my forts so as to be ready for a campaign at the commencement of the harvest, when the country would be full of corn. My two rich harvests would be Belinian—twelve miles distant—and the fruitful islands beyond the mountain Regiāf, about fourteen miles south of Gondokoro. The latter would be easily collected, as the vessels could load at the

islands, and convey the cargoes down stream direct to head-quarters.

Everything depended upon the officers and men. Raouf Bey, who commanded the troops, was in daily communication with Abou Saood, who was exerting himself to the utmost to ruin the expedition by promoting discontent, and persuading the officers that they would die of starvation, and that the Baris were most dangerous enemies, who would exterminate the troops should I weaken the force by taking a detachment to form stations in the interior.

It was thus pre-arranged by my own people that, even if in the midst of plenty, the corn should not be collected in any larger quantity than would suffice to feed the expedition during the return voyage from Gondokoro to Khartoum.

In that case, the expedition would be broken up and abandoned. The authorities would piously ejaculate, "El hambd el Illah!" (Thanks be to God!) The country would once more fall into the hands of Abou Saood by contract with the government of the Soudan. The good old times of slave-hunting would return, and remain undisturbed. The Christian would have been got rid of by an ignominious failure. Abou Saood would have boasted of the success of his diplomacy; and Allorron and his Baris, once freed

from the restraint of a government, would have fraternised again with their allies the slave-hunters, to pillage, kidnap, and desolate the productive countries of Central Africa.

I determined that the expedition should succeed, and, with God's help, I would overcome every opposition.

The forts were completed. Gondokoro, or as I had named it, Ismailïa, was protected by a ditch and earthwork, with bastions mounting ten guns. My little station was also fortified; thus I could commence a campaign against the whole Bari tribe, without fearing for the safety of my base.

On August 30, 1871, I started with a force of 450 men, with one gun, and one rocket-trough for Hale's three-pounder rockets.

I left twenty of the "Forty Thieves" at my little station, together with a reinforcement of thirty men. I had ordered the captain of the dahbeeah, upon which my wife resided, to push the vessel off the bank and to anchor in the stream every night.

The Baris of the Belinian Mountain were well provided with guns and ammunition, which they had taken in various massacres of the slave-traders' parties some years before. On one occasion they had killed 126 of the traders in one day, and

had possessed themselves of their arms, with many cases of cartridges.

On several occasions they had destroyed smaller parties with the same result, and they had never been at peace with Abou Saood since he had treacherously murdered their sheik and his family. Recently having allied with Abou Saood's friends (the Baris of Gondokoro), against the government, some of the Belinian people had ventured to trade, and had established a communication with Abou Saood's people, from whom they purchased ammunition in exchange for tobacco.

Having given orders on the previous evening that the men were to be under arms ready for the march at 1 A.M., I was annoyed to find that neither officers nor men were prepared when I arrived punctually at the hour appointed at head-quarters. The colonel, Raouf Bey, was fast asleep, and had to be roused by the sentry. This was a breach of discipline that cost Major Achmet Rafik his life. After some annoying delay I started for Belinian. At that time, in the dark night, I was not aware that Achmet Rafik was absent. This officer was a thorough-bred Turk, and he had seen much service, having been through the Crimean war, and also in that of Arabia, under Abbas Pacha. He ought to have known better, but he

shared the prevalent feeling of discontent; thus, instead of being on the alert and at his post, he was asleep when the troops started on their night march.

When awakened, he hastily dressed, buckled on his sword and revolver, and taking a double-barrelled gun in his hand he endeavoured to follow the troops, but mistook the direction, and lost his way in the dark.

We arrived at the open valley of Belinian at day-break, but native scouts had already given the alarm of our approach. There were some hundred villages situated in the vale and on the heights along the base of the mountain; but at this season only the tops of the huts were visible above the high dhurra, which was just ripened, although the general harvest was not yet commenced.

There is no covert so much in favour of native warfare as the high dhurra, which perfectly conceals their movements, at the same time that it is easily passed through at speed.

The Bari drums were beating throughout the country, and their horns were sounding in all directions. Clearing the way with skirmishers, we marched along a good path for about four miles parallel with the base of the mountain, until we arrived at a plain or bottom, which bore the marks of cattle-hoofs in

great numbers. This spot was about thirteen miles from head-quarters at Gondokoro.

There was no dhurra cultivation on the right, near the base of the mountain, as the soil was poor and sandy: we thus had a clear view of the country. The cattle had been driven off, and we were only in time to see them disappearing over the distant high ground. The natives had collected in large numbers, and seemed disposed to dispute the advance of the troops.

The ground was perfectly clean, as the cattle had fed off the grass until it was as smooth as a garden lawn. From the position we occupied, the country inclined upwards towards the base of the mountain, about a mile and a half distant; this interval abounded in villages, all of which were defended by stockades. At the base of the mountain were broken hills, composed of huge granite rocks, the foundations of mountains that had long since decayed. Upon all these strong positions were the usual stockaded villages.

I ordered the troops to extend in two lines, supported by a reserve with the fieldpiece and rocket-trough. With the "Forty Thieves" in the front, we advanced along the plain towards the mountain.

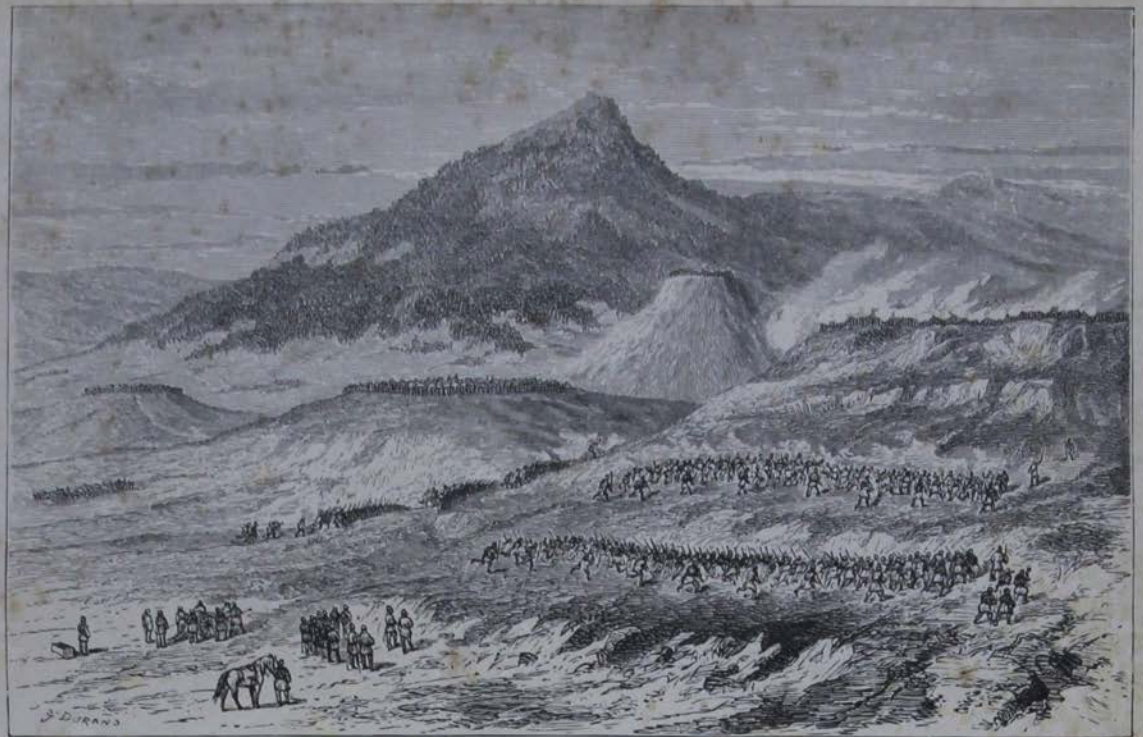
The Baris now opened fire upon us from their villages, from which they were driven in succession,

until no enemy remained to oppose us except those upon the high ground.

Our right was now protected by an exceedingly deep ravine, which was a watercourse cut by the torrents from the mountain. I accordingly took a party of the "Forty Thieves," and following along the edge of the ravine, ascended the slope that led to the stockades upon the heights. Great numbers of natives had assembled, and were shouting the most abusive epithets in Arabic until we arrived at about a hundred yards from the foremost stockade. This now opened fire upon us, the natives being concealed within, and aiming with their muskets between the interstices of the upright piles.

My riflemen now knelt down and fired at the puffs of smoke as they issued from the impenetrable ironwood zareebas. This was just the work that the Baris understood, as their position enabled them to fight unseen among the numerous stockades and high rocks clothed with bush.

The bullets were whistling merrily, and presently a soldier by my side was shot through the fleshy part of the hip. I examined him, and saw that the bullet had passed through,—therefore he continued firing. A wife of one of the soldiers was shot through the calf of the leg. She had accompanied



ASSAULT UPON THE STOCKADES AT BELINIAN.

him with a small parcel of cooking-pots and food from Gondokoro that morning, and thus came under fire.

The main body was delaying in the rear, replying to the fire of the Baris on the other side of the impassable ravine. I had only twenty men with me in addition to Lieutenant Baker. I therefore ordered the bugler to sound the "assembly," as I determined to attack the stockades with the whole force.

In a few minutes the main body arrived, and formed for the attack. The bugles and drums sounded the advance, and the troops, having fired several volleys, rushed on at the double and stormed the position. This was well executed, and the rush was so unexpected by the Baris, that the stockades were taken at the point of the bayonet; Captain Morgiān Sherreef[1] distinguishing himself by the gallant manner in which he led his company; he was the first man to break through the gateway.

This attack was something that the Baris did not comprehend. They had only been accustomed to face the slave-hunters' irregular companies, and they had never seen a charge home with the bayonet. They now began to clamber up the rocks and ascend the mountain with the activity of baboons, while a

[1] This officer was a Soudani who had served under Marshal Bazaine for four years in Mexico.

sharp fire from the snider rifles acted like a spur upon their movements. A shell from the gun now burst over a number of the enemy who had collected about 800 yards in our rear. This was an unmistakable notice to quit. We set fire to the stockades, and the Baris having disappeared, I selected a position for a night's bivouac.

There was a bad supply of water, and we could procure nothing but a muddy mixture which smelt strongly of goats. We had found a number of fat calves and sheep; thus, having fixed upon a site in the flat open plain, the men collected firewood, and when the evening set in, the camp fires were blazing and every man was well supplied with food.

I doubled the sentries for the night, but we remained undisturbed.

I was very anxious about the major, Achmet Rafik, as Raouf Bey and the officers declared that he would have certainly endeavoured to follow the troops rather than run the risk of disobeying the orders he had received. The Baris never take prisoners, and should they meet him, which would be most probable, his death was certain.

On the following morning I ordered an advance towards the north side of the plain, where I had observed a line of zareebas upon elevated ground

that commanded a view of the plain and the base of the mountain that we had attacked yesterday.

On arrival upon the higher ground, I found the country perfectly flat and completely covered with heavy crops of ripe dhurra, in which the zareebas were concealed, with the exception of the tops of the huts. Drums were beating and horns blowing in all these stockades.

I had a suspicion that the Baris might have stationed sharpshooters in ambush among the high dhurra. I therefore directed a couple of rockets through the corn. The rush of these unknown projectiles produced a great effect, as they burst through the stockade, and buzzed and whizzed about the huts within the defence. An eight-pound shell from the gun now crashed through the stockade and went howling along through the dense fields of dhurra, until it exploded about 500 yards in the rear.

The bugle immediately sounded the advance with the bayonet, and the troops made a rush forward through the corn and captured the stockade.

We now found no less than six of these powerful inclosures within an area of about four acres. These would form an admirable position. I therefore gave orders that the corn should be immediately cleared

away so as to leave an open space. Guards were posted in various places; sentries were placed on the summits of the tallest huts to keep a good look-out, while the remainder of the force set to work and commenced clearing. By sunset we had cut down about six acres.

I gave orders to Raouf Bey to divide the troops in four stockades, which formed a sort of quadrilateral. This officer suggested that the men might all be massacred by a Bari night-attack if thus divided, and he proposed to inclose the whole force of 450 men within one zareeba, like sheep or cattle! In spite of our successes, the officers had a wholesome dread of the Baris, that relieved me from all apprehensions of their erring by an excess of rashness.

I divided the soldiers of the line in three zareebas, while I occupied the fourth with Lieutenant Baker and twenty men of the "Forty Thieves."

Every day was now passed in collecting corn, but the soldiers as usual worked badly. In the meantime the natives worked most energetically during the night, and carried off ten times the amount gathered by the troops. There was so bad a feeling among the officers, that it was easy to perceive they were predetermined to neglect this opportunity of filling our granaries.

The Baris were excellent diplomatists, and, seeing that we were too powerful to resist by open force, they sent women to treat for peace. This was simply a manœuvre to gain time, as during the truce they could carry off the corn by day as well as night. I always leant toward peace, although the war had been wantonly forced upon me; thus we soon established friendly relations with an old sheik named Jarda, about two miles from the Belinian mountain. This old fellow had an exceedingly clever sister who would have made a good foreign minister. She explained just as much of the Belinian politics as would suit her purpose, and very properly declared that the women were all in favour of the government, and they would use their influence with the men, some of whom she asserted had very "hard heads."

Old Jarda, who was about eighty and had sufficient worldly experience to appreciate the value of a good counsellor, left the diplomatic arrangements to his sister, who became extremely active, and ran about the country to collect the principal headmen.

We had many palavers, which as usual ended in nothing but assurances of goodwill, and an explanation that the attacks on Gondokoro were

made by certain districts, but that Jarda's people were not responsible. In the meantime thousands of women and children were engaged in carrying off the corn. The country seemed alive with baskets, as these useful articles were seen gliding about in all directions on the heads of natives that were invisible in the high grass.

I returned to Gondokoro for reinforcements, and I collected 200 armed sailors. With this additional force my wife also accompanied me to our camp at Belinian. We had now 650 men to collect the corn. I noticed an extraordinary diminution in the crop during my absence of only two days, but not a corresponding increase in the store collected by the troops left under the command of Raouf Bey.

I had occupied the valley by a line of three stockaded positions, at intervals of about a mile and a half; thus a very large area of corn was commanded, and if the patrols had done their duty, it would have been impossible for the natives to have carried it off.

Nothing had been heard of the missing major, Achmet Rafik; he had not returned to Gondokoro as I had hoped. I now discovered, through the native women, that he had been killed by the Baris on the same day that we had arrived at Belinian.

It appeared that the unfortunate officer had steered his course for the Belinian mountain peak, in the hope of overtaking the troops. This route through the forest led him to the extreme end of the valley at the foot of the mountain, quite in the wrong direction. Having arrived at the nearly dry bed of the Belinian river, he sat beneath a tree to rest. The natives quickly observed him, and stalked him as though he had been a wild animal.

It appeared that when attacked, he had wounded one native in the head with his "little gun," as the Baris termed his revolver; and this man was still alive with the bullet in his skull, which the women declared was swollen as large as a pumpkin.

Achmet Rafik was thus overpowered and killed, with the gain to the Baris of his arms and ammunition.

I immediately started off with a company of troops, led by a Bari guide, to the west end of the plain, where my officer had been killed. I had not yet visited this spot, but the guilty natives were wide awake, and they had concealed the arms, which I had hoped to recover. The forest was tolerably open, and was full of small villages concealed by the trees. I spread out my men and

regularly drove the covert. Suddenly we came upon a herd of cattle and a number of natives who had imagined themselves secure in the depths of the forest.

I immediately dashed into them on horseback, accompanied by Lieutenant Baker, Colonel Abd-el-Kader, and Monsoor, and followed by the troops. The cattle, seeing the red shirts of the "Forty Thieves," had gone off in a regular stampede through the forest; this precipitate flight had been quickened by the report of the rifles. It was difficult work to manage the herd with only four horses. No one who has not hunted African, and especially Bari cattle, can have an idea of the activity of these animals. They go along at a tremendous pace, and never appear to get blown: thus we were spurring hard through the forest in order to overtake the herd, when to my great satisfaction we arrived at the broad bed (nearly dry) of the Belinian river. This checked the pace, and we reined up our horses, and quietly waited for the troops, who were excellent runners.

A few men of "The Forty" were the first up, and we managed to drive the cattle across the river on to the open plain. Hardly had we arrived on the level ground, when they started off in another

stampede, and kept us going for about three miles, as though we were following hounds.

With a horse on each flank and in the rear of the herd we at length managed to control their movements. Fortunately we had been running towards our camp.

A herd of cattle generally depends upon a few of its members, which are usually followed by the others. Upon this occasion there were two cows that appeared to direct their movements. These wild creatures refused to enter our cattle kraal upon arrival at the camp, when the troops, having seen our approach, came out to render assistance. With skilful management the herd was secured within the kraal, with the exception of the two undisciplined cows, which started off at full speed along the plain, followed by Abd-el-Kader and myself. A black and white cow was exceedingly vicious, and being hard pressed for about a quarter of a mile, she turned to bay on the open plain. I was riding my best horse, named "The Pig," who was very powerful and fast, and understood cattle-driving thoroughly. "The Pig" accordingly avoided the charge of the infuriated cow, which dashed at him like a wild buffalo. I immediately shot her in the shoulder with a revolver, which had no

other effect than to turn her towards Colonel Abd-el-Kader, who was riding a large, clumsy chestnut called "Jamoos" (the buffalo). This horse remained perfectly still when the cow rushed at him, and Abd-el-Kader instead of firing his rifle, received the charge full upon his left leg, into which the cow drove her sharp horn, making a serious wound nearly through the calf. I then shot the cow through the head, but Abd-el-Kader was in great pain and quite disabled.

Upon counting our cattle we found 165. This was a very small herd, but they had been difficult to capture. The Baris had seen that nothing could escape from the horses.

Our new ally, old Jarda, with his diplomatic sister, came to visit us upon hearing of our success, and immediately asked for a calf, which I gave him.

Jarda's sister now informed me that the sheik of the mountain wished for peace, and requested permission to visit me. On the following day he appeared. He was a fine powerful fellow, but with a bad expression. I had already heard that Jarda and he were not friends, therefore I looked upon this introduction with suspicion.

After the usual declaration of friendship by the

new sheik, and an apology for past misdemeanours, presents were requested. A fat calf was given—then a sheep was demanded; this was also supplied. We now came to business. It appeared that the Belinian Baris had been called upon by Allorron to become allies, at the same time that Loquia had been invited to join in the general attack that had been made upon Gondokoro.

Loquia had hesitated, but had at length joined Belinian, as the government troops had been reported as great cowards who were afraid to venture far from their head-quarters. The many thousand cattle known to be at Gondokoro, and the fabulous amount of stores and material, at length tempted the Loquia to join forces.

On the night of the attack, it now appeared that Loquia had lost many men killed; others who were wounded dropped on the way, and died on the route through Belinian. This loss so enraged Loquia (who considered that he had been only used as a cat's-paw), that he was determined not to return home empty-handed. He therefore revenged himself upon his allies, and captured about 2,000 head of cattle from Belinian, with which he returned to his mountains two days distant.

On the day following my interview with the sheik of the mountain, "Wani," I received information which made me suspect that he was not the real sheik, and that some trick was intended.

Once more I was waited upon by old Jarda, with his female minister of foreign affairs, in company with Wani, the reputed sheik of the mountain, together with a number of headmen.

I now received a direct proposal to form a general alliance. The Belinian Baris declared allegiance to the government, and proposed to join all their forces to make a grand attack, in conjunction with the troops, upon a country about sixteen miles distant, governed by a sheik named Lokko. They described this country as abounding in corn, and sesamé, in addition to great wealth in cattle. They also declared that they had already sent spies into the land, who had returned with the news that the harvest was over, and all the grain was stowed in the granaries; thus the troops would have no trouble in collecting the corn.

They also promised that if I would make the attack, they would collect all their women and transport the corn to head-quarters at Gondokoro; thus the soldiers would have no fatigue. At the same time they described the people of Lokko as

very powerful, and declared that I should require nearly all my force, as very few troops would be now necessary to protect my camp at Belinian, as we *were all friends!*

This kind regard for my military arrangements confirmed my suspicions. It was intended to draw off the greater portion of the troops to a distance, in company with the pretended allies. The attack was really to be made on Lokko, but my troops were also to be overpowered when unsuspectingly returning by a night march with the spoil. The cattle captured from Lokko would then fall into the hands of Belinian, and my camp, protected by a weak force, was to be surprised.

I pretended to enter into this scheme, but I expressed a doubt whether they would perform their part of the engagement, and convey the corn from Lokko to Gondokoro. This they declared emphatically they would do without failing.

I proposed, that if they could convey such an enormous quantity so great a distance from Lokko to Gondokoro, they should first prove their fidelity by transporting the few hundred urdeps from our Belinian camp to head-quarters. If they would assist us in this manner, they should be paid for their trouble, and I should then believe in their

sincerity. On the other hand, if they refused, I should be perfectly certain that they would also decline to transport the corn from Lokko, and that every individual would merely scramble for spoil, and return to Belinian with a load of plunder for his own use.

We should then be left at Lokko in a foolish position.

After much discussion, they promised to carry the corn to Gondokoro before commencing operations against Lokko; but I at once perceived by their manner, that they had not the slightest intention of performing any such contract. They felt that their scheme had been found out.

Although Africans are notoriously cunning and treacherous, they have not sufficient patience or self-sacrifice to enable them to carry out a perfect scheme. If the Belinians had wished to succeed in their plan, they should have willingly carried the corn to Gondokoro, and thus have established confidence. In all my experience with African tribes, I have observed this want of organization in their plans. Like ignorant chess-players, they only think of the first few moves, and thus are at a loss when suddenly checked.

Of course I had no intention of attacking Lokko,

as I had no complaint against him; and although a Bari, he was a chief who had always behaved well to the Austrian missionaries. This portion of the Bari tribe, instead of being sixteen miles, was at least thirty from the north of Belinian, and was situated on the White Nile, where the sheik, Lokko, was known to the traders as "Oom Nickla."

The following extracts from my journal will at once explain the state of affairs. The natives had lost their chance, and feeling that their treachery had been discovered, they never came to me again:—

"*September* 22, 1871.—No natives will come near us. Abou Saood arrived with forty men to ask my permission that he might start for Khartoum.

"*September* 23.—The natives, disappointed in their trick, will have nothing to say to us."

On the 25th September the natives treacherously attacked an unarmed soldier. This man had strayed a few hundred yards from the camp, against orders, to search for wild thyme. A native met him and accosted him by the welcome "Adotto julio." The soldier advanced close, when the treacherous Bari immediately shot an arrow into him. This passed through his arm with such force that more than half the length of the arrow protruded on the other side.

The soldier shouted for help, and the Bari decamped as he saw others running to the rescue.

On the same day, two women were attacked when they went to fetch water, and their clothes were stolen by the natives.

On September 27, an artilleryman went to the river about 400 yards distant to fetch water, alone. This was quite contrary to orders. The thoughtless fellow left his musket on the bank while he descended to the sandy bed, through which trickled a clear stream.

He was watched by natives who were lying in wait, concealed by the high dhurra. These rascals suddenly rushed out and speared him to death. The man screamed so loudly before he died, that a number of soldiers rushed to his assistance from the camp, but they were only in time to bring in his body.

This was at 4 P.M., and I observed natives armed, who were hovering about on all sides.

I sounded the bugle, and attacked them without delay, destroying several stockades. It is impossible to come to any terms with such treacherous people. In spite of my kindness and wish to do good and to benefit their country, they requite me with the murder of any unarmed man whom they can find.

"*September* 29.—I attacked a position on the mountain. Having fired several rockets from the

base, into a station about 350 feet above, I ordered the troops to advance from two sides. My men scrambled quickly up the rocks and destroyed the station.

"*September* 30.—A few days ago, the soldiers purposely burnt several granaries full of corn, and threatened to kill Sherroom and Morgiān, my Bari interpreters, if they should report the act to me, saying, 'If the corn is finished, we shall all go back to Khartoum.'"

"This proves that the old spirit against the expedition still exists. The men take their cue from the officers."

In spite of the general discontent, I could place the greatest reliance upon the "Forty Thieves" and their officers. This little corps performed nearly all the active service. Their red shirts had become so well known, that the colour was enough to keep the natives at a distance; but although the Baris were now afraid to risk a stand-up fight, they troubled us by their stealthy tactics. It was impossible to say where they were concealed. They were spread all over the country: some hidden in the tall dhurra, others behind bushes. Their favourite place was in the grass and scattered bush on the banks of the river, where they lay in wait for any unlucky

soldier whose disobedience of orders led him to tempt his fate.

It seemed almost as impossible to clear the country of these people, as to purge Africa from snakes. Patrols were of little service, as the natives lay as closely concealed as hares in form.

I determined at length to meet them with their own tactics. They occupied the neighbourhood in ambush. . . . I would also lay in ambush. This system of ambuscade employed so generally by the Baris had created a wholesome alarm among the troops, which tended to obedience. They now began to appreciate the orders that no one should stray alone from the camp, and that the watering party should consist of a powerful guard. At the same time, the surprises that had occurred had somewhat shaken their confidence.

I called the "Forty Thieves" together. These fine fellows always took a great interest in their work.

I explained to them the difficulty of fighting against an enemy whose tactics would not permit a battle; at the same time, I should now operate against them somewhat upon their own principle; by establishing a series of sharpshooters who should occupy the neighbourhood, and render it impossible for the Baris to remain in the country.

My corps was now complete, as I had brought up those who had remained at Gondokoro; I had thus forty-eight officers and men. To this force I now added fifty selected men from the line, and marched them away from camp.

Upon arrival at the broad bed of the river, I explained to them the plan. The natives generally approached unperceived by means of this winding trench, which entirely concealed them. The banks of this river were in most places nearly perpendicular, and were about nine feet deep. The river was about sixty or seventy paces broad, and was nearly dry, as a very shallow stream flowed through the centre of its bed.

If the high banks were occupied for a distance of several miles by small parties of sharpshooters concealed in high dhurra, or behind an ant-hill, or crouched in high grass or bush, or in anything that would serve as a protection, it would be impossible for the Baris to approach by the favourite river-bed, without being exposed to a deadly fire from the long line of sentries.

I therefore selected a position commencing far beyond my line of posts, and entirely commanding the river-bed for a distance of several miles. The soldiers were delighted with the plan suggested. I

arranged that before daylight on the following morning, they should occupy the positions assigned in parties of two men if sniders, or three if muskets, at intervals of one hundred paces; thus the country would be protected by a chain of guards perfectly concealed from view.

I gave orders to the officers commanding the two stockades to carry out this system throughout the neighbourhood, so that it would be impossible for any enemy to move without falling into an ambuscade.

At daybreak I was up, and as usual drank my coffee and smoked the morning pipe. At that time my wife and I occupied a tent outside the stockade, beneath the most magnificent tamarind-tree that I have ever seen. From this spot we had a clear view of the country. On the west of the plain, two miles distant, rose the mountain of Belinian. On the east was park-like land interspersed with fine ornamental timber, through which the river winded. For about a hundred acres around the camp, the high dhurra had been cut down; therefore the view was uninterrupted.

Everything was perfectly still at this early hour; the birds were only beginning to chirp, and the vultures were just lazily assembling to see if they

could discover one more morsel at the slaughtering-place of the preceding day.

No one would have suspected that the entire neighbourhood was occupied by sharpshooters, for a distance of some miles.

The wily Baris had delighted in their leopard-like tactics, which had given them several opportunities of inflicting loss upon the troops. They now commenced their daily occupation, and started in small but numerous parties from their distant villages, for the purpose of waylaying any stragglers. The sun rose, and with my telescope I observed natives about half a mile distant on the other side of the river; sometimes these people disappeared in the high dhurra; every now and then they reappeared; then again they were lost to view. They were stealthily approaching for the purpose of occupying their positions for concealment. These wily Baris imagined that we were, as usual, keeping on the alert around the camp, but they had no idea that the leopard was himself so near the hidden snare.

Suddenly a puff of white smoke shot up from the bright green grass on the other side of the river-bed—then another, followed by the reports of two rifles! I saw natives running at full speed to the left. Another and another puff of smoke issued from

a different quarter, as the astonished Baris in their hasty retreat stumbled over the next ambuscade. I now saw a native running like a deer, but chased like a good deerhound by one of the "Forty Thieves." The native was so hard pressed by this good runner, who was encumbered with clothes, rifle, and ammunition, that he had been obliged to throw away his bow and arrows, together with his lance. He now gained upon the soldier slightly, but they were not five paces apart when they disappeared in the high dhurra. That soldier was Ali Nedjār, of the "Forty Thieves," the strongest man, the best shot, and the fleetest runner of the force. Presently I heard a shot.

Throughout that day occasional shots were heard in every conceivable quarter. I took a walk through the country, attended by a few of my men, and upon several occasions I was challenged from a bush, or tump of high grass, showing that the men were all in position and well concealed.

When the bugle recalled the sharpshooters in the evening, each had some adventure to recount, and the whole camp rejoiced in the success of the manœuvre; it was a case of "the biter bit."

The men now looked forward to this employment,

and starting at daybreak, they took their supply of food for the day.

Some of them were very clever at this kind of service, especially Ali Nedjār. Ali was a native of Bongo—a broad-shouldered, muscular fellow, with thighs like a grasshopper. It was a pleasure to see him run, and to witness the immense power and speed with which he passed all competitors in the prize races, in which I sometimes indulged my men. Ali Nedjār was a good soldier, a warm lover of the girls, and a great dancer; thus, according to African reputation, he was the *ne plus ultra* of a man. Added to this, he was a very willing, good fellow, and more courageous than a lion.

I had several men of Ali Nedjār's stamp in "The Forty," among which were the three Ferritch —Ferritch Agha Suachli, Ferritch Ajoke (formerly condemned to be shot), and Ferritch Baggara; and it may be easily imagined that a corps composed of such material was an awkward enemy for the Baris.

After a few days, the ground became almost too hot for the natives. They now ascended high trees, from which they could survey the country and direct the movements of their scouts. Ali Nedjār

was too much for them even with this precaution. He had observed them like rooks in a large tree at a great distance. The tree grew in a field of high dhurra, and while the wily Baris were looking out from their lofty post, expecting to discover us in the distance, the still more wily Ali Nedjār had crept on hands and knees through the corn, and was actually beneath the tree!

The report of a snider rifle under their feet, and the fall of one of their party, was the first intimation they received of the soldier's presence.

This plan of occupying the country was most successful, and in a short time the Baris entirely abandoned the neighbourhood. They confessed afterwards, that it was useless to attempt to fight with such people, as the earth was full of soldiers who sprang up out of the ground beneath their feet.

We had been thirty-five days at Belinian, and the enemy had been entirely subdued. I explained to them my determination of paying them another visit should we ever be disturbed again at Gondokoro; thus if they wished for peace, they must remain quiet.

The soldiers and sailors, including all the women of the camp, were employed for some days in conveying the corn to head-quarters. If our people

had worked well, we should have had a supply for twelve months. Instead of which, a force of 650 men had actually delivered in the magazine only 150 urdeps, or about 670 bushels.

I have naturally omitted many military incidents, and have only given an outline of the Belinian campaign, but the moral effect was good on all sides. The soldiers had learnt their own superiority to the natives, and had gained experience and confidence; and the Baris of Belinian had learnt the truth; and in future we should sleep in peace at head-quarters.

## CHAPTER XI.

### SPIRIT OF DISAFFECTION.

THE amount of corn collected by the troops, now in the magazines, was only sufficient for two months' consumption at full rations.

There was a spirit of general disaffection among the officers and troops.

Although I had worked with them in every difficulty and led them invariably to success, there was a general dislike, not to me personally, but to the system of rigid discipline that I was determined at all hazards to enforce, and to the general object of the expedition.

Neither officers nor men could understand why, during open war, I should forbid the capture of women and children, who, by all Mohammedan rules, were lawful prizes!

It was not slave-hunting: they were simple pris-

oners of war that God had delivered into their hands; and it was a hard case that, after all the trouble and difficulties which had been encountered, they should be debarred from taking a few prisoners.

This was the argument of the military force, to which, had I yielded, the expedition would have quickly relapsed into the original slave-hunting of the White Nile, which I was bound to suppress. I have already described the direct disobedience of the officers in having purchased 126 slaves secretly from the slave-hunters' station during the voyage. A slave trade would quickly spring up between the Khedive's officers and the slave-hunters of Abou Saood, unless I enforced the strictest discipline. The expedition would represent a government slave market for the reception of slaves captured by the Khartoum companies.

It may easily be imagined, that my determination to enforce obedience to the newly-instituted reform caused bitter disappointment and disgust. The government I had established afforded justice and protection to all, whether freeman or slave I had not interfered with the slaves that had been the property of officers prior to my taking the command of the expedition; these remained in their

original position, with the simple improvement, that they could not be ill-treated with impunity.

A poor little Abyssinian boy, about eleven years of age, had one day crawled through the high river grass to escape the observation of the sentries, and suddenly appeared on the deck of my diahbeeah to claim protection. He was streaming with blood, and had been shamefully ill-used by his master, who was a captain in the Egyptian regiment. The boy demanded his freedom, and I immediately granted his release.[1]

This forfeiture of a slave was a warning that had an excellent effect in favour of the slaves, but was very unpopular among the force.

Although I regretted the ill feeling which existed on all sides, I considered the position with patience; and I could not help admitting that this was a natural and inevitable consequence of a sudden reform which threatened so many interests.

At the same time, I was determined to carry out my mission without shrinking from any consequences. I was ordered to suppress the slave trade; therefore that slave trade should be sup-

[1] This boy, named Amarn, was a great example to others in his general good conduct and integrity. He accompanied us throughout the subsequent trials of the expedition with much devotion, and he is now one of our household in England.

pressed; and I trusted that time would eventually give me so improved a control over the feelings of my people, that I might succeed in my reform and yet banish all ill-will.

In the midst of anxieties, there was one lasting satisfaction in my position. I had the power to execute absolute justice, and I wished for no other reputation among my people, whether slaves or freemen, than the confidence of pure equity to be obtained without delay. At all hours I was accessible, and even the complaints of little children were attended to with the same attention that was bestowed upon more important appeals. I hoped by this line of conduct to be able at length to incorporate myself with the expedition, and to gain the affection of my people; without which, success would be impossible.

The terrible absence of discipline among the troops was a great difficulty, but I had already improved them greatly. Since the mutiny of the black division at Taka, in the year 1865, when they murdered their officers, and committed many atrocities, the Egyptian officers had always distrusted them.

I was told by the colonel, Raouf Bey, that if a black soldier were punished, his comrades

would probably mutiny, should he be a general favourite. The extreme laxity of discipline was the result of a want of vigour on the part of the officers.

At the commencement of the Bari war, the conduct of the troops, both black and white, was disgraceful. I have seen them, in the presence of the enemy, rush into a village and commence indiscriminate pillage: the officers mingled with their men in a race for plunder. Several soldiers had been killed by the natives upon such occasions, when separated from the rest in search of spoil. The colonel had assured me that it was impossible to prevent this sacking of villages, as it was the reward that the troops expected after a victory.

Fortunately my model corps, the "Forty Thieves," were always with me, which enabled me to act decidedly. My lieutenant-colonel, Abd-el-Kader, and the faithful Monsoor, were ready to carry out my orders on the spot.

When I caught the troops in disorderly pillage, I had the principal actors seized and laid down on the instant in the centre of the men, and administered fifty apiece with a stout bamboo.

The Soudani soldiers quickly perceived that the reins were tighter than formerly; and I followed up

the principle of stern punishment until I obtained an absolute control, without the slightest attempt at resistance to my authority.

I had learnt to like the Soudanis; there was an untiring energy in their movements very unlike the Egyptians; they only required European officers to become first-rate troops.

Although the force had much improved by the increase of discipline, they would have much preferred the good old times of plunder and prisoners. The officers had always looked forward to the glorious opportunity of procuring a few slaves in Central Africa, although they could not exactly define the manner of obtaining them: thus my severe orders upon this subject caused a serious heart-burning, and a desire to give up so barren an expedition.

The station was now complete, and well fortified by a ditch and earthwork. My own little station was the picture of neatness. I had two acres of the finest Egyptian cotton (galleen). Every inch of the knoll was highly cultivated, the lawn was closely cut, and the diahbeeah, which was our home, lay snugly alongside the bank, close to which was a little summer-house, surrounded by a prolific garden. This was a little gem of civilization set

in the middle of savage Africa. My "Forty Thieves" were perfect gentlemen in comparison with the line regiments. The sanitary arrangements of the station were good; there was very little sickness, at the same time that upwards of 400 men suffered from ulcerated legs at head-quarters.

Our domestics were much improved. Those who had been slaves liberated by me from the traders' vessels at Tewfikeeyah, had learnt their duties, and had become very useful. My wife had trained some nice girls of seventeen or eighteen to household duties, in addition to half a dozen excellent boys, who were all neatly clothed, and kept in admirable discipline. Among these was the Abyssinian boy, "Amarn," who had lately received his freedom. He was a pretty little lad, and his brown complexion looked quite light in comparison with his coal-black comrades. The Abyssinian blood showed in strong contrast to the negro type around him, and he was far superior in intelligence to any of the Central Africans.

The girls were under old Karka, who had been with us throughout our former journey. This old woman was very proud because I had given £12 to purchase her freedom in Khartoum. She was a good old soul, but wonderfully fond of fine clothes;

and on great occasions she always turned out in clouds of snowy muslin with red edges and fringe, like a young Abyssinian beauty. It was amusing to see her emerge from her hut in full costume, her broad, flat face beaming with smiles in happy consciousness of universal admiration.

Old Karka was a sort of duenna to watch over the morals of the younger girls, and to see that they did not become too "fast"; but I believe that even the heart of Karka beat high when a certain corporal of the gallant "Forty Thieves" passed by. Old Karka was actually accused of sending presents of food, carefully cooked by her own hands, to the house of this same corporal, Abdullah, thus appealing to his stomach, which is the direct road to the heart, in African courtship. The younger girls and the boys of the establishment exclaimed, "Mashallah! Old Karka! who would have believed it?"

It was curious to observe the difference between my station and that of head-quarters at Gondokoro: at one, all was contentment and good order; in the other, discontent and disorder.

I had constant complaints from Mr. Higginbotham that my orders, that he should be supplied with men for public works, were disobeyed, and that every obstacle was thrown in his way.

My Englishmen had been, as usual, very industrious, and having erected the iron magazines, they were now engaged in building a flat-bottomed barge to assist in transporting corn from the islands south of Regiāf. They had not been in the best health, but they nevertheless continued to work with an energy and spirit that were a delightful contrast to the sluggishness and apathy of the Egyptians.

Immediately on my return from Belinian, I had given orders that thirty vessels should be prepared to return to Khartoum.

I had not returned these vessels earlier, as I required all the sailors to assist in building the station, and in collecting corn for the troops. At this season (October) the Nile was at its maximum, therefore I hoped there would be no difficulty in the return voyage to Khartoum with empty vessels, and the stream in their favour. Had I returned them earlier, I should have been obliged to victual them for a four months' voyage, at a time when corn was extremely scarce. The sailors had now assisted us in our work, and they would not require provisions for more than two months, as the Nile was full.

Every arrangement that I had made had been most carefully considered. There can be no doubt

that the greatest enemy to the expedition was the White Nile. This adverse river had given a serious check. The work and fatigue in cutting through the obstructions had killed many men, and had laid the seeds of fatal complaints among many others. The men's hearts had been broken at the onset. There was even now a feeling of despair of the possibility of receiving supplies and reinforcements by river from Khartoum. We appeared to have forsaken the known world, and, having passed the river Styx, to have become secluded for ever in a wild land of our own, where all were enemies, like evil spirits, and where it was necessary either to procure food at the point of the bayonet, or to lie down and die.

If the White Nile had been the fine, navigable river that I had known in former years, I believe I should have had no difficulty, as I could have quickly overcome the scruples of my officers by direct reports of their conduct to the Khedive; but we were lost to the world almost as absolutely as though quartered in the moon.

I had proposed, when in Cairo, that steamers should run monthly between Khartoum and Gondokoro, with the post and all necessary supplies. In former days this would have been a matter of

course, and the fact of a connection with the Soudan government would have supported discipline; but the frightful obstructions of the river rendered communication impossible, except by a regular expedition in large force.

My own heart felt heavy sometimes; but I said nothing. I could easily appreciate the feelings of others, whose hearts were not actually in favour of the enterprize.

Nevertheless I commanded, and no matter what the obstacles might be, I had only one duty.

A new and sad calamity had attacked us. The well-known African horse-sickness broke out. In spite of every precaution, my horses died. The disease commenced by an appearance of languor, rapid action of the heart, scantiness of urine, costiveness, swelling of the forehead above the eyes, which extended rapidly to the whole head; stiffness and swelling of the neck, eyes prominent and bloodshot, running at the nose of foul greenish matter in extraordinary quantities,—convulsions, death.

My favourite horse, "The Pig," was attacked. I had anxiously watched him daily, and one morning I fancied that the usual hollow above the eyes was rather full. This fatal symptom was too true a

warning. He passed through the usual stages of the complaint, and died on the same day that he was first attacked.

I had only seven horses remaining out of twenty-one that had started with me from Cairo. In addition to these, were two horses belonging to the officers.

The fact of the horses dying, added to the unfavourable impression already in the minds of the officers and troops. In addition to this calamity, the drought at Gondokoro had been unprecedented The native cultivation, and that of the troops, had all perished on the light, sandy soil of Gondokoro. Rain had fallen in the vicinity; but this unfortunate locality is very subject to droughts, as the rain-clouds are attracted by neighbouring mountains, where they expend themselves. The rich soil of the river islands will always insure a crop, as the roots penetrate to a depth where they obtain moisture from the river. As already described, the troops had worked so badly, that one half of the island crop had been carried away by birds. Thus, when the harvest was in their hands, they neglected to gather it; they now complained that nothing would succeed in Gondokoro.

Abou Saood had not gone to Khartoum, there-

fore his journey to Belinian to request my permission to depart, was only a ruse for some purpose at present unknown.

I shall now extract *verbatim* from my journal the entry upon October 13, 1871 :—

"*October* 13, *Friday.*—The truth has burst out at last. As I have long expected, the evil spirit has brooded mischief."

Late last night I received a letter from Raouf Bey inclosing two others: one from the regimental officers, addressed to their respective lieutenant-colonels; the other from the lieutenant-colonels, inclosing the letters, and seconding the declaration with a petition embodying the same request to the full colonel. The letter from Raouf Bey supported the petitions and seconded the general complaint. The burden of this lengthy and carefully-arranged correspondence, was the determination of the officers and troops to abandon the expedition and return to Khartoum. The seals of every officer were attached, with the exception of those belonging to the "Forty Thieves."

I noticed that although there were three separate letters upon several immense sheets of paper, they were all written in the same handwriting. This proved that they were the result of dictation from

a superior, and I at once traced the conspiracy to the colonel, Raouf Bey, the friend of Abou Saood.

It had been pre-arranged in this fashion, without a hint of such an intention having been given to me, that the officers should sign a round-robin to their lieutenant-colonels; the latter should support and forward the petition, together with a letter from themselves; the colonel should then forward this general and irresistible expression of public opinion to me, together with a long epistle from himself, explaining the absolute necessity of a general abandonment of the expedition, and a return to Khartoum.

I find these words in my journal:—"These letters from the officers declare, that the expedition must return to Khartoum, as there is no corn in the country, and the soldiers would die of starvation.

"Although these people complain of want, they actually purchased 126 slaves during the journey from Tewfikeeyah, thus adding to the number of mouths, and at the same time acting against my positive orders.

"They say there is no corn in the country, but as yet they know nothing of the neighbourhood, with the exception of Belinian; and when in the midst of plenty they *will not collect it.* Thus

the Khedive's officers would actually abandon the expedition, and forsake the immense amount of stores, merchandize, &c., which would fall into the hands of the natives.

"By God, not a man shall go back, except by my orders! no matter whether they mutiny or not. I shall forward the officers' letters to the Khedive."[1]

This conspiracy would have played the game of Abou Saood, and he would have revelled in his success. I make no remarks upon the conduct of Raouf Bey, but the chain of facts will speak for themselves.

For the first half hour after the receipt of these letters, I was disgusted through every bone. It appeared as though all hope of success was gone. What could be done with such wretched and treacherous material?

I would not condescend a reply to the letters I had received. I rode up to head-quarters; Mr. Higginbotham was ill, as were also some of the Englishmen and Mr. Marcopolo. Nevertheless all were unanimous in their resolve to stand by the expedition at any risk.

I sent Lieutenant Baker, R.N., to Raouf Bey,

[1] It will be interesting, in the Appendix, to observe the notice that was taken of this report.

with instructions not to mention the letters, but to convey the following order:—

"Colonel Raouf Bey, with six companies of troops, to be under arms at 2 A.M., to await me at head-quarters."

Mr. Higginbotham had the entire charge of the vessels. I ordered three noggurs to be prepared, together with one small diahbeeah, to pass the troops across the river at 2 A.M.

All troops and sailors were to take two days' provisions. I had determined to push straight for the Bari islands, south of Regiāf hill. Should I be able to procure the supply of corn that I expected, it would at once checkmate the conspiracy.

The Baris of Regiāf and south of that hill had been allied with those of Belinian, and had taken charge of their great herds during the month's campaign in that country.

We started punctually at the time appointed, and sailed for about seven miles up the river, which at this season could be navigated without difficulty. We now crossed over to the west bank, and the wind being foul, the soldiers turned out and hauled the vessels against the stream by tow-ropes.

The country was perfectly lovely. The high, rocky hills, a few miles distant, sloped in beautiful undula-

tions of open, park-like land to the river's bank. Here and there fine ornamental trees were dotted about the surface; but the absence of forest would have rendered the locality unfit for a large station.

The villages were innumerable: but there was not a sign of friendship among the numerous population. The natives poured out of their various stations, leaping, brandishing their spears, and gesticulating with unmistakable actions of hostility.

The river was about 500 yards wide, and in several places the dull, grey heads of rocks protruded from the surface. We therefore continued to tow the vessels close to the bank, with a party marching parallel to protect the flank in case of a sudden attack.

The natives evidently intended to oppose us. I always gave the Baris a fair chance, and allowed them to make the first hostile move before I proceeded to forcible measures. I therefore landed and advanced a few hundred paces inland. There were many curious rocks in this neighbourhood, some of which were clean blocks of granite in masses of forty or fifty feet high, piled roughly as though arranged artificially.

The natives, as we advanced, moved gradually towards this shelter, in which they squatted until we arrived within a hundred and twenty paces.

My interpreter now conversed with them, saying that I had not come to fight, but to purchase corn, and that I would give them a cow for each googoo full of unthrashed dhurra: this was the usual price when the natives traded among themselves.

In reply to this polite assurance, they used most insulting language, and said—"You need not offer us your cattle, as we intend to take them by force; therefore, be off to Khartoum!"

By this time I had advanced with the interpreter to within a hundred yards of them. They were completely in my power, but I resisted the temptation. This is the disadvantage in treating with savages. I always afforded them every opportunity for peaceful arrangements, and returned civil replies to their abusive and coarse insults. This gave them the advantage of selecting their own convenience for an attack. A hundred times I have had them in my grasp, as upon this occasion, when a well-directed volley would have created a terrible effect; but I have always been patient, and allowed them to strike the first blow.

I now explained to them my position. I gave them the instance of their friends at Belinian, and begged them to avoid a similar necessity. I must have corn. Their granaries were overflowing, while

mine were empty. I had many thousand cattle in addition to all kinds of merchandize. I desired fair dealing, which would give satisfaction to all parties. They simply shouted a derisive reply, coupled with most disgusting and insulting language.

"Won't you have a shot, sir, at that fellow on the rock?" said my shadow, Monsoor, who was always at my elbow. I declined the invitation, to the great disappointment of my men; at the same time I explained to these pig-headed Baris that they must accept the consequences of their conduct.

I ordered the bugler to sound the assembly.

With great readiness the troops left the vessels, and having formed, they marched up the slope with drums and bugles. I now made a display of force, and once more addressed the natives, explaining that the men were hungry and would take their corn gratis unless they would agree to sell a portion.

The natives sullenly withdrew to a greater distance, and commenced blowing their whistles, and making a peculiar shrill cry which is used by them generally in derision and contempt of an enemy. The last words we distinguished as they increased their distance, were a threat to exterminate us during the night, if we dared to remain in their country.

It appeared hopeless to attempt a peaceful com-

munication with the Baris. This portion of the country to the south of Regiāf was immensely populous, and the natives were more dreaded by the slave-traders than any other. I now determined to examine some of the villages.

Having extended the men in line so as to cover about half a mile, I ordered the advance towards the hill of Regiāf, with strict orders that no soldier was to enter a hut; but they were simply to examine the villages as they passed through, by tapping the numerous wicker googoos or granaries with their hands, to prove whether they were full. These neat little granaries contained generally about forty bushels, but they varied in size: some would have held more than double that quantity.

The natives watched us in considerable numbers from all points. In this manner we examined twenty or thirty villages, each of which contained at least fifteen googoos, nearly all of which were quite full of corn. The entire country was overflowing with dhurra and sesamé. As far as the eye could reach were innumerable villages, all of which we knew were stores of abundance, by the samples we had already examined.

From the high land of Regiāf, we looked down upon a long series of rich islands in the river, that

appeared to be nothing but a line of granaries, as I could distinguish with the telescope the numerous clumps of googoos and small villages that fringed the fertile banks of these welcome retreats.

I felt as the Israelites, when the manna and the quails appeared in the desert. Thank God, we were delivered from the danger of famine, and we had at length arrived at the Promised Land.

The "Forty Thieves" were in ecstasies. Even the officers, all of whom had signed the declaration "that there was no corn in the country, therefore they must return to Khartoum," looked delighted, and exclaimed "Mashallah!"

I felt the relief, for I had suffered much anxiety; but outwardly I took it very coolly, and quite as a matter of course. I explained to the officers and men, that of course they were ignorant of the country, but that if they relied upon me, I should always lead them ("Inshallah!") into a land of plenty. The black officers now began to exclaim, "Wah-Illai! the Pacha knows the country well! Who would have believed when at Gondokoro that there was corn enough for a couple of years within a day's march?"

"A couple of years!" cried another; "we couldn't eat this corn in ten years!"

"We might drink merissa every day in this country," exclaimed others of the soldiers.

Sailors who have been in danger of shipwreck, with a rocky shore close on the lee in a heavy gale, may understand the relief offered by a sudden shift of wind in the moment of extremity. Such experience alone can allow an appreciation of the mental reaction after a great strain of anxiety that I had suffered for some time past.

A certain knowledge of human nature determined me to improve, without a moment's delay, the opportunity, while the troops were under the first impulse of astonishment and delight.

I addressed myself to the "Forty Thieves" in particular, and to the line generally, and explained "the pleasure that I felt in now being able to increase their rations of corn, that had been reduced by half. At the same time I had been much dissatisfied with the small collection they had made from the harvest at Belinian. I knew the country, and this was the only true granary that admitted of river transport to Gondokoro. If they neglected this opportunity, the rations would again be reduced; but upon no account whatever should I permit the return to Khartoum of any officers or men, except those who could present a medical certificate of chronic bad

health. I should thus get rid of the useless mouths, which would relieve the strong men from the work of gathering corn to feed the weak, who could not perform their share of the labour."

I concluded by recommending them "to thank God, and to set to work with good will."

I marched my men to several villages, deserted by their inhabitants, which I occupied in force, and anchored the vessels close to the bank beneath them. Having sent for Raouf Bey, I made no other remark, than to give the orders necessary for the night. This melancholy officer looked more miserable than usual, and his expression reminded me of one of Dante's damned souls, as illustrated by Gustave Doré.

The sun sank, and I had not tasted food for twenty-four hours. I was without my wife, therefore I was not very particular; my good Monsoor having foraged, produced some pumpkin soup, as he termed it, which was composed of a very watery pumpkin boiled in water without salt. The next dish was the very simple native luxury of dhurra flour boiled into a thick porridge. I was very hungry and very happy, thus I ate the plain fare with a good appetite.

Monsoor had made a fire with dry cattle-dung, and

spread a native mat on the ground, close to the smoke, upon which I could sleep, if the mosquitoes would allow me. I lay as close to the smoke as possible, with a comfortable log of wood for a pillow, and pondered over the events of the day, feeling very thankful for the change of circumstances, and making plans for the morrow until I fell asleep.

No sooner had the bugles sounded the morning call, than I was up and off. I instructed Raouf Bey to take a company of troops with the vessels, and occupy the islands. At the same time, I marched through the country to the south, and having passed about three hours in exploration, I formed two stations in excellent positions, and divided my men equally under Lieutenant-Colonel Achmet and Major Abdullah. These stations were about a mile apart, upon high ground, and commanded a view of Raouf Bey's vessels, that were already anchored at the island about a mile and a half below them. The three positions formed a triangle, in the very heart of the greatest abundance.

Having concluded these arrangements and established my positions, with the necessary instructions to the officers in command, I returned to the river, and prepared to start for Gondokoro in the little dingy. I did not wish to take a large vessel, therefore I ordered Raouf Bey to fill the noggurs with corn as

rapidly as possible, and to start them off when full to Gondokoro. The granaries on the islands were all full, and close to the banks; therefore the vessels lay alongside, as though in a dock, and could load with great ease.

I started in the dingy with two boatmen to row, accompanied by Monsoor and two soldiers of "The Forty."

The stream ran at three miles and a half per hour: thus, with good pulling, we reached head-quarters in one hour and thirty-two minutes, a distance of about ten miles and a half.

I believe it is common to human nature to love to carry good news. The sight of the little dingy approaching Gondokoro alone, had given rise to all kinds of surmises, and when I reached the shore, a crowd of officers, soldiers, sailors, and women were standing in expectation upon the cliff. My men immediately recounted all particulars.

Great was the joy of the English party at the news of our success. This flew through the station, and the Egyptian officers and soldiers slunk away; whereas the black wives of the Soudani regiment were delighted, as they did not wish to go to Khartoum. These women were slaves that I had liberated, and they always imagined that if they should arrive at

Khartoum, they would be sold. This home influence was of service to me. In conversation with my "Forty Thieves" I had suggested, that perhaps on their arrival at Khartoum, the government might not permit them to retain so many wives in the regiment. The Soudanis are always happy if they have a wife and plenty to eat and drink; therefore Central Africa was preferable to their taste, where they could enjoy domestic bliss with a young wife, instead of sitting in the sultry barracks of Khartoum as melancholy bachelors.

I now determined to devote myself specially to the work of collecting corn. I therefore placed all my luggage in the magazine, cleared out the dahbeeah, and towed her up stream from my little station to head-quarters, ready to start on the following day.

On 17th October I started at 6 A.M., and reached the island at 4 P.M. There I found Raouf Bey, and the vessels that I had left in his charge. He had only occupied one island, and the natives were hard at work carrying off their corn from the islands to the south. I immediately sent troops to take possession.

On 18th October I sent Raouf Bey to Gondokoro, with orders to despatch to Khartoum all the really sick and incapable, but upon no account to

permit any man to return unless he was hopelessly invalided.

On 13th October, having noticed that the stream brought down numerous stems of dhurra, I concluded that cultivated islands existed further up the river. I therefore instructed Lieutenant Baker to sail up and explore; at the same time he was to take possession should such islands be discovered.

On 21st the dingy returned with a letter from Lieutenant Baker, who had, with only ten men of "The Forty," driven out the enemy, and occupied an island, rich in corn, further south. The dingy had been attacked on her way by the Baris, who had shot arrows, all of which had fallen short. I immediately started with my diahbeeah and reinforcements, and united with Lieutenant Baker. I had now three large islands in possession. The fertility of the soil was extraordinary. The cultivation was confined to the rim or sides of the islands, as the centre was swampy in the wet season, but the extreme richness of the soil produced the heaviest crops, and the granaries were full throughout the very numerous little villages, that were stationed around the islands.

Having worked for twelve days, during which time numerous vessels had enlivened the river by passing

to and fro heavily laden with corn, between our granaries and Gondokoro, I received notice from the mainland that the work of the two stations under Lieutenant-Colonel Achmet and Major Abdullah was concluded. Achmet had thrashed out all his corn, and was waiting for boats to convey it; and Abdullah had shipped all that he had collected, and was waiting for orders.

I sent instructions, that Abdullah should march his detachment along the mainland, towards the south, and occupy the villages on the high land, exactly opposite my vessels. The country was beautifully open, like a fine park, in long, rolling undulations, which terminated in rocky hills, about four or five miles from the river.

On 24th October, having loaded a line of vessels that lay alongside the island as snugly as though by an artificial quay, I was amusing myself, together with Lieutenant Baker, in shooting ducks, which swarmed in the neighbouring ponds and swamps. At about 4.30 P.M. I heard rapid file-firing in the distance, and I concluded that Major Abdullah's detachment, that was hourly expected, was attacked by the natives. I at once returned to the diahbeeah, where my wife was stationed on the high poop-deck, having a good view of a very pretty little engagement.

The troops were about a mile distant, and while steadily on the march according to my instructions, they were suddenly attacked by the natives in great force. This was a fair stand-up fight in the open. The big drums and horns were sounding throughout the country, and the natives were pouring from all directions to the battle.

The white uniforms of the soldiers formed a strong contrast to the black figures of the naked Baris; thus we could see the affair distinctly. We could also hear the orders given by bugle.

Major Abdullah had prudently secured his rear by the occupation of one of the small villages, fortified by a hedge of impenetrable euphorbia. He then threw out skirmishers in line, supported by the force that held the village. The natives were yelling in all directions, and I never before saw them make such a good fight upon the open ground. They not only outflanked, but entirely surrounded Abdullah's detachment of ninety men. The troops were keeping up a heavy fire, which did not appear to produce any decided result, as the natives thronged to the fight and advanced close up to the fire of the soldiers, whom they attacked with bows and arrows.

I ordered our solitary fieldpiece to be dismounted, and placed in the large rowing-boat, together with a

rocket-trough, and the requisite ammunition, in readiness to support Abdullah with a flank attack upon the natives, by crossing the river, should it be necessary. As our vessels were in close view, I waited for the signal by bugle should Abdullah require assistance.

I had only twenty-two men of the "Forty Thieves" with me, together with the eight artillerymen belonging to the gun. The remainder of "The Forty" were holding the second island, about four miles in our rear.

Just before dark, I noticed that the Baris were giving way: they had evidently suffered some loss, which caused a sudden retreat. I heard the bugle sound "the advance," and we could see the troops advancing and firing in pursuit. The Baris ceased blowing their horns, and collected in dense bodies at a great distance from the troops, who had halted and now held the position.

Only occasional shots were now fired, and the sun having set, darkness gradually dissolved the view.

I fully expected that the Baris would renew the attack during the night, but I knew that Abdullah was safe in his strong position within a village, surrounded by the high and dense hedge of euphorbia; the thick, fleshy branches of this tree are the best protection against arrows. I ordered the boat

with the gun to remain in readiness, so as to start at a moment's notice should we hear firing renewed during the night. I should then be able to land the gun, and take them unexpectedly on the flank with case shot.

Morning broke without any night alarm. I had filled the vessels with the last of the corn upon the island, therefore I determined to cross over with my force, and to meet the detachment under Major Abdullah. This was not easy to accomplish, as there were some awkward sand-banks in the middle of the river. It was therefore necessary to pass up stream between two islands, and then, by rounding the head of a point, to descend through a channel about a hundred yards wide between the western island and the mainland. This occupied about an hour, and we dropped down the channel and took up an excellent position against a high shore that formed a convenient landing-place. From this point the land rose rapidly, and the entire landscape was covered with villages abounding in corn. The natives appeared to have deserted the country.

Having given the necessary orders, I took my shot gun, and, accompanied by Lieutenant Baker, Monsoor, and two soldiers of "The Forty" I walked along the river's bank towards the village occupied

by Major Abdullah's detachment, who I imagined might have found a large quantity of corn, which accounted for their delay in commencing the morning march.

There were great numbers of ducks and geese on the river's bank: thus as we walked towards Abdullah's village, about a mile and a half distant, we made a tolerable bag.

We had at length arrived within half a mile of the village, which was situated upon high ground, about 600 yards from the river, when I noticed a number of people issuing from the gateway carrying large baskets upon their heads.

"The soldiers have found plenty of corn," remarked Monsoor; "they are carrying it from the googoos."

My eyes were better than Monsoor's. I at once perceived that the people thus employed were Baris!

We were only five guns, now separated from our vessels by about a mile, and the troops under Major Abdullah had evidently evacuated their position!

Where upon earth had they gone? and for what reason? Certainly we had the river on our right flank, but we might have been attacked and cut off

from our vessels, had the Paris the pluck to assume the offensive.

It was time to retreat, but as I wished the Baris to believe that we felt quite at our ease, we accomplished the move very leisurely, and strolled quietly homewards, shooting ducks and snipe as we walked along.

The moment I arrived at the vessels, I despatched a party in the steamer's large boat, under Captain Mohammed Deii, of the "Forty Thieves," to row down the river, and to recall Abdullah's detachment, that must have retreated for some inconceivable reason. The current ran at nearly four miles per hour; thus the boat would be sure to overtake them.

I was exceedingly annoyed. A force of ninety men had evidently been cowed by their engagement with the natives on the previous evening, and had retreated upon Lieutenant-Colonel Achmet's position, instead of joining me according to orders. At the same time my vessels had been in sight only a mile and a half distant! I was thus left with a small party of thirty men, while ninety men had fallen back.

This was an example of the utter helplessness of the officers and men when left to themselves. If

the natives had repeated the attack, they would most probably have got into dire confusion.

Having started the boat, I took ten men of "The Forty," and, accompanied by Lieutenant Baker, I marched along the bank in order to meet the detachment on their return, when recalled by Mohammed Deii. During the march I continued to shoot ducks, as this amusement would deceive the natives respecting the retreat of Major Abdullah, which might then be attributed to some other cause than fear.

In about an hour, I distinguished a sail coming round the point of Gebel (Mount) Regiāf. The wind was fair, and she quickly ran up the stream. I now discovered that she was towing the boat that I had sent down the river to recall Abdullah's detachment.[1]

Upon her near approach, I hailed the vessel and ordered her to land the troops (with which she was crowded) upon the west shore.

In a short time, Major Abdullah and his gallant company had landed and formed in line.

His excuse for the precipitate retreat which he had commenced at day-break was, that he feared a renewed attack, and he was short of ammunition.

[1] This was a vessel from Gondokoro, on her way for a cargo of corn. She had met the retreating party of Abdullah, and had brought them on by the river.

He had therefore determined to fall back on the station occupied by Lieutenant-Colonel Achmet.

He appeared to have forgotten that he could have communicated with me by bugle.

I inspected the men's pouches, and found that most of them had eighteen or twenty rounds of cartridge, while the minimum contained eleven rounds: this is what the major considered a short supply of ammunition for a march of a mile and a half along beautiful open country to my vessels.

He described the overwhelming number of the natives, and their extreme bravery in the attack, which his troops had repelled without any loss to themselves either killed or wounded. At the same time the troops under his command had killed twenty Baris, whose bodies he had himself counted.

I now ordered them to advance to the village, as I wished to examine the position. Upon arrival at the spot where the battle had taken place, there were a number of vultures settled in various spots where the ground was marked with blood, and the cleanly-picked skeleton of a man, lying close to the euphorbia hedge, showed that the Baris had really come to close quarters.[1]

[1] The officer declared that twenty of the enemy were slain, while the soldiers admitted that only five were killed. There was always a gross exaggeration in the reports.

The natives had carried off their dead, with the exception of the body that had been cleaned by the vultures; this must have been a stranger who had no friends, as the Baris are very particular in the interment of their people.

I now marched my men along the high ground towards the south, and examined the numerous habitations, until I arrived at a little colony comprising six villages, all of which were full of corn. Here I left Major Abdullah and his detachment, with orders to collect all the dhurra from the neighbouring villages, and to form a central depôt at his present station, after which, the corn could be thrashed out and carried to the vessels. I stationed a noggur by the bank exactly opposite his position, about half a mile distant.

The natives had abandoned the neighbourhood: and hundreds of villages remained without an inhabitant.

On 3rd November, I sent off vessels heavily laden with corn to Gondokoro, under the command of Lieutenant Baker, with instructions that the detachment under Lieutenant-Colonel Achmet should join me as soon as possible, and that empty vessels should at once be sent to my corn depôt.

On 4th November, I sent fifteen of the "Forty

Thieves" to the south, where I had discovered large quantities of corn in the villages that had been until now undisturbed. To arrive at these villages, it was necessary to pass over very high ground, which obscured them from our view when on the diahbeeah.

My men had built themselves huts, and had formed a nice little camp on the hard, stony bank, close to the spot where my diahbeeah and other vessels lay alongside. My horses were picketed in the centre, and we had transported and erected a great number of granaries, which I had filled with cleanly-thrashed corn, to await the arrival of the return vessels from Gondokoro.

I was superintending the arrangements of the camp, when my attention was attracted by exceedingly steady firing in single shots at a distance, in the direction taken by my small party of "The Forty." Nothing could be seen, owing to the high ground on the south.

I immediately ordered my horse, and accompanied by Monsoor and three soldiers of "The Forty" I rode at a trot towards the direction of the firing. I had left a small guard with the boats, as nearly all the men were absent in the interior collecting the dhurra.

After riding for about a mile and a half over

high ground covered with fine turf, from the summit of which I had a beautiful view of the undulating country before me, with the White Nile flowing through the valley, and high mountains in the distance, I came suddenly upon a village, where I observed two of my "Forty" mounted as sentries upon the summits of the tallest huts. A little in advance of this position, I found the remainder of my party, who were taking long shots at the negroes after the most approved method of target practice. It appeared that they been suddenly attacked, but the sentries on the house-tops had given timely warning.

There could not have been a more suitable country for rifle-practice, as it was completely open and almost devoid of trees. The fine, swelling undulations were intersected with deep rocky ravines at right angles to the river, which after heavy rains brought down the torrents from the mountains.

My arrival on the summit, on a white horse, attended only by Monsoor and three soldiers, was a signal for a great blowing of horns and beating of drums. Immense numbers of natives were to be seen in all parts of the view before us. They ran eagerly from their villages, and collected from every quarter, evidently bent upon a fight with my little party.

I ordered my men to cease firing, as they were wasting their ammunition uselessly, and destroying the prestige of the rifles by missing at long ranges.

I ordered a general advance in open order, about four yards apart; thus twenty men covered a line of about seventy-six paces. This front, with the men in scarlet uniform, made a tolerable show. I rode at the head on a very beautiful Arab, "Greedy Grey," that was the most perfect of all the horses I had brought from Egypt: excelling in breed, speed, beauty, and temper. He was very powerful; and would stand the fire of heavy guns without flinching.

My little company marched forward in quick time. This was a signal for a chorus of yells upon all sides; the big drums sounded louder than before, and the horns of the Baris bellowed in every direction.

Great numbers of natives now advanced with their bows and arrows, gesticulating and leaping from side to side in their usual manner, so as to prevent the possibility of a steady aim.

As yet, they were about 600 yards distant, and I continued the march forward as though no enemy were present. As we descended a ravine and marched up the opposite incline, I found that the

natives retired over the next undulation. Their line of front extended about a mile and a quarter, while we occupied at the most eighty paces.

Having marched about a mile without firing a shot, and finding that the natives invariably fell back as we advanced, at the same time that they kept the same interval between us, I at once understood their tactics. It was now five o'clock; the sun would set within an hour, and their intention was to draw us forward until darkness would reduce the power of the rifles. They would then be able to surround us, and very possibly overpower our little force during our retreat to the vessels in the dark.

I halted my men, and explained to them the Baris' dodge. I now ordered the retreat after this manner: we should hurry down-hill and march quickly up the next undulation, so as to deceive the enemy with the idea of a precipitate retreat. This would induce an advance on their side. The Baris would be certain to follow us at full speed if they supposed we were afraid of them.

It was my intention to cross rapidly the first undulation where my men would for a few minutes be out of view of the enemy, and there to conceal them in a deserted village which I had noticed during

our advance. This would be an ambush that would take the Baris by surprise, as they would imagine that we had passed ahead: they would therefore come near the village.

The order to the "right about" was given, and my men, who took a keen interest in the plan, commenced so precipitate a march down the hill that my horse was forced into a jog-trot. I heard the savage yells of the enemy, who as I had expected, now followed us with the hope of cutting off our retreat to the vessels.

We crossed the dry, rocky bed of the torrent in the bottom, and ascended the hill-face rapidly. Looking back, I saw the natives running at full speed in pursuit. They began to descend the hill just as we had crossed the summit of the high ground; thus they lost sight of us, as we quickly concealed ourselves behind the huts and granaries of a deserted village. I hid my horse behind a hut, and the men, having surrounded the position, crouched low on the ground behind the most convenient cover.

Unfortunately, the natives, who were on the high ground on our right flank as we faced about, perceived the snare, and endeavoured to give the alarm by blowing upon their whistles of antelope's horn.

This was either misunderstood, or unheeded by

the enemy in our rear, who quickly made their appearance.

I had ordered my men to reserve their fire, and not to expend any ammunition until the command should be given. My good Monsoor was to reload for me, and I borrowed a snider rifle from a soldier. I rested the "Dutchman" against the googoo, or wicker granary, behind which I was concealed.

The natives on our right flank now passed forward, which would bring them in our rear. At the same time, those in our front appeared in very loose and open order, evidently looking for us in all directions.

I observed a man painted red, like a stick of sealing-wax, with large ivory bracelets upon his arms. This fellow was in advance, and he ascended a small ant-hill to obtain a better view.

Monsoor whispered, "That's the sheik;" at the same time I had taken a rest with the rifle as I knelt down by the googoo-stand.

A puff of smoke and the sharp crack of the rifle startled the enemy, as the red sheik rolled over. The yells increased on all sides, the whistles of the antelopes' horns now sounded a shrill alarm, during which the red sheik recovered his legs and vainly attempted a dance of defiance. The leading Baris shot off their arrows, but they fell short.

In the meantime my men had remained motionless. Concealment was now useless; I therefore threw off the cover of a googoo, into which excellent position I had climbed, while Monsoor stood upon the frame-work to hand me a spare rifle.

The circular googoo, raised three feet from the ground, afforded a splendid look-out. In this I could turn and fire in every direction, like a pivot-gun on a martello tower.

The red sheik was now about 200 yards distant, and was gesticulating to his people, who were evidently shy of closing with our position. A shot from the googoo struck him through the body, and he staggered and fell never to rise again.

A few natives made a rush forward to recover him. One immediately fell at a shot from the googoo, but recovering himself like a cat, he staggered down the hill. Another quick shot cracked upon the body of a native, who was caught in the arms of his comrades and dragged away as they precipitately retreated in all directions from the dangerous locality.

My men now begged me to allow them to charge and to capture the man, who was endeavouring to escape. I gave them leave, and a body of fifteen dashed out in pursuit, with loud yells, after the

retreating natives. For about a minute the natives faced them and shot their arrows, but the gallant fifteen coolly knelt upon the clear ground, and taking steady rests upon their knees, opened a fire that wounded one man, who was immediately supported by his fellows, and drove the enemy before them. The fifteen immediately charged forward and bayoneted a fugitive, and returned with his bow and arrows in triumph.

The enemy had quickly had the worst of it. They were now standing in all directions at distances varying from 400 to 1,000 paces. Many of them were actually in our rear, but I noticed that these fellows were already opening to the right and left, as though they faltered in their determination to resist our retreat to the vessels.

I determined to follow up the first advantage. I therefore ordered my men to hand me their rifles as quickly as I required them, and I opened fire in all directions from my elevated position.

The Baris would not stand in the open ground before the sniders.

Having set the sights for 400 yards, I took them first, and continued until the country was perfectly cleared of an enemy up to 1,000 paces.

The ground was dry and dusty, thus each bullet

marked its hit as the puff of dust rose from the earth, like a jet of smoke.

Some of the enemy were knocked over at very long ranges; others were so scared by the close practice, as the bullets either struck the ground at their feet, or pinged close to their ears, that they cleared off as quickly as possible. Their noisy drums had ceased, and suddenly I perceived a general skedaddle, as those upon our right flank started off in full speed, shouting and yelling to alarm the rest. I now distinguished a body of troops hurrying at the double down the hill-side in the distance. These were commanded by an active Soudani officer (lieutenant) who had been in Mexico under Marshal Bazaine. He had heard the firing as he was returning with his day's collection of corn to the vessels, he had therefore dropped the corn, and hurried on with his party to our support.

I ordered the bugler to sound the retreat: and having joined forces, we marched without further opposition.

We reached the diahbeeah and my little camp about half an hour after dark.

## CHAPTER XII.

### VESSELS RETURN TO KHARTOUM.

On 6th November, 1871, Lieutenant Baker returned from Gondokoro with four noggurs, and the entire detachment of Lieutenant-Colonel Achmet. The news was as follows:—

After the departure of Major Abdullah, the natives had attacked the camp of Colonel Achmet, and had wounded him in the back with a barbed arrow, which had to be cut out. Another arrow had passed through the heart of his servant, killing him on the spot. Several soldiers had been wounded, but not seriously. The corn had been delivered from his station to the magazines at Gondokoro.

On 3rd November, thirty vessels had left Gondokoro for Khartoum, taking about 1,100 people, including children, women, sailors, soldiers, and invalids.

In spite of my positive orders, that none but the really sick should be sent to Khartoum, Raouf Bey had in my absence sent away great numbers of troops who were in sound health, thus reducing the entire force of the expedition to 502 officers and men, including buglers, drummers, clerks, &c., exclusive of fifty-two sailors.

Thus an expedition that should have comprised 1,645 men was reduced to so insignificant a force, that it appeared impossible to proceed into the interior. The Baris were at war with us; the slave-hunters' companies were treacherous; and yet I was to suppress the slave trade, and annex the equatorial districts with less than one-third of the force required.

Abou Saood had apparently gained his point, and the expedition was paralysed. It was considered that with so small a force, I could not travel far from head-quarters: thus as my term of service would expire on 1st April 1873, I had only one year and four months remaining, and in this short time it would be impossible to accomplish my object.

In the dreadful state of the rievr we could not speculate upon the arrival of reinforcements from Khartoum. Our cuttings and canals in the Bahr Giraffe might have closed up; or they might have improved: of this we were ignorant.

I had sent off my letters to England, also those to the Khedive, complaining of the conspiracy of the officers, and inclosing the documents. At the same time I had impressed upon his Highness the imperative necessity of opening the channel of the great White Nile without delay.

I had written to Djiaffer Pacha for reinforcements[1] to be sent from Khartoum immediately, together with a large supply of dhurra.

I had very little hope of receiving anything from the Soudan. It was therefore necessary to make my arrangements for the future, independently of all extraneous assistance. With 502 officers and men, and fifty-two armed sailors, I had to accomplish the work; that was the actual position.

The force at present with me consisted of 251 officers and men; thus I had exactly half of the troops. Gondokoro was well fortified, and the Belinian had been thoroughly cowed, therefore I had nothing to fear in that quarter.

I had more than filled one of the great magazines with corn: therefore, including the dhurra now on board several vessels, I had more than twelve months'

[1] These reinforcements were thirteen months actually on the river from Khartoum to Gondokoro, and they only arrived at the close of the expedition.

supply for the expedition. This was a great blessing.

Although my force was terribly reduced in numbers, the men who remained were strong and healthy. I did not despair; but I determined that this reduction of military force should NOT paralyse the activity of the expedition, and that in spite of every intrigue, I would succeed in the main objects of the enterprise; the slave trade should be suppressed, and the territory should be annexed to the equator—with God's help.

On 10th November I took a hundred and fifty men in order to make a reconnaissance of the country, at the last cataracts of the White Nile, about six miles south of our position.

We started early, and marched along the high ground parallel with the river, passing the spot where the natives had attacked us some days previous. Nothing could exceed the beauty of this country as an agricultural settlement. The long, sloping undulations were ornamented with innumerable villages, in all of which were overflowing granaries. On arrival at the dry bed of a broad stream, we ascended a slope, and to my astonishment I noticed a considerable body of natives who neither ran away nor appeared hostile in their demeanour.

Leaving my rifle with Monsoor, I rode up within fifty yards of them, apparently unarmed, but I had a pair of breech-loading pistols in my holsters.

My Bari interpreter, Morgiān, now explained, that I was only on an exploration, and that I had no intention of disturbing their property; I only desired to communicate with their sheik.

For the first time I received a civil answer from the Baris. They explained, that although they were Baris, they had no connection with the people who had fought us. They were governed by a great sheik named Beddēn, whose territory was bounded by the torrent bed that we had just crossed. They promised that he should pay me a visit on the morrow: in the meantime, if we required any corn, they would supply us. This was a politeness to which I was quite unaccustomed. I therefore thanked them, but declined their offer, saying that I wanted nothing from them except friendship.

I now discovered, that these people had never had any communication with the slave-traders, who were afraid to molest so powerful a tribe.

At parting, I gave them a white handkerchief as a signal to our sentries, when they should arrive.

We then returned to our station, the troops

sharing the satisfaction that I felt in having at length discovered friends.

On the following day at about 3 P.M. the sentry on the hill called to the guard, that a very large body of natives was approaching the station.

I presumed that these were the followers of Beddēn. I therefore ascended the slope and examined them with the telescope.

My suspicions were aroused from the extraordinary number of people; at least 700 natives were accompanying their sheik.

I returned to camp, and made arrangements to receive his visit with a guard of honour. I drew up a hundred men parallel with the river, about fifty yards from the bank, near the bow of my diahbeeah. Fifty men were in line at right angles with the river: thus the lines formed two sides of a square.

In the front I placed the fieldpiece loaded with canister shot. I intended to receive Beddēn with due honour in the hollow square thus protected. In the event of treachery, his force could be almost annihilated by one discharge.

The hill sentry now reported the arrival of a messenger, who waved a white handkerchief on the end of a bamboo. This was the signal agreed

upon, and the messenger was allowed to pass. He communicated the fact of Beddēn's approach: in a few minutes later the great sheik arrived.

He was very tall and gaunt; and without any delay, both he and his people were ushered into the hollow square, where they all stuck their lances in the ground and sat down.

I now sent for Beddēn and a few of his principal men to the poop-deck of my diahbeeah, which, being covered with carpets, and arranged with sofas and chairs, was something very astonishing to the great sheik, who had never seen anything but a vessel in the distance.

I now explained the objects of the expedition; at the same time I presented him with a long Egyptian blue shirt that reached to his ankles, and made him look more respectable. A crimson sash round his waist, and a red tarboosh (fez) upon his head, improved his appearance wonderfully, and he began to feel at home.

I presented him with six pounds of beads of various colours, together with some strings of harness bells. Brass bugles and a large mirror attracted more attention than any other curiosities.

I gave him a brass bugle, to his great delight.

The use of the cannon was then explained to him, and the effects of the shell were pardonably exaggerated to produce a respect for the weapon.

He gave us six pots of merissa and some fowls, promising to come again to-morrow.

All these people believe in sorcery, and each sheik possesses spells and conjurors. Tortoise shells, scales of the manis, lions' claws, and those of the leopard, roots, knots of trees of peculiar shape, and many other things, are worn as talismans.

My wife's parrot was supposed to be a cojoor, or fetish. This was the grey bird of West Africa, that was unknown in these parts. The interpreter explained that "it could speak like a human being, and that it flew about the country and listened to what people said—all of which it repeated to its mistress and myself; thus we knew everything that occurred, and the natives could not deceive us." This parrot was exceedingly tame, and was never confined. It was now walking about the deck, and while its extraordinary powers were being described by my Bari interpreter, Morgiān, to the amazement and fear of the natives, it advanced stoutly to the sheik Beddĕn, and would have bitten his big toe had he not quickly jumped up and taken leave.

The magnetic battery and the large musical box were also believed to be magic.

At sunset, the great sheik departed in the best of spirits, with all his people, as he had drunk a tumbler of Marsala before he started, in order to try the quality of our merissa.

The population of this country is very large, and the natives are good agriculturists. Although the soil is stony, it is very productive, as the cultivation is carefully attended to. Dhurra, sesamé, dochan, and beans, in addition to a species of *Hibiscus* which produces an edible seed and also a fine fibre, are sown in exact oblongs or squares resembling the plots in allotment-grounds in England. Near the villages are large heaps of manure, collected from the cattle zareebas. These are mixed with the sweepings of the stations, and the ashes from the cattle-fires, and are divided when required among the proprietors of the herds.

Each cow of the zareeba is entitled to a certain measure of manure at the commencement of the rains, when all hands turn out to cultivate; thus the owner of many cows is enabled to farm a large area.

The cows are all herded in one or two pens; thus the whole manure is heaped, and, when divided, is measured in large baskets. It is then distributed very thickly over the field, and is roughly hoed with the

iron molote, the seed being thrown upon the manure broadcast, previous to the hoeing.

The geological appearance of the country would suggest the presence of precious metals. Large masses of rose-coloured and icy-white quartz project from the surface in dikes. These run for miles in tolerably direct lines, like walls, from west to east. Generally the rocks are granitic, consisting of syenite and gneiss, with micacious schist in the lower valleys. Occasionally, dikes of basalt break through the surface, which is generally much denuded, and the rocks are weather-worn and decomposed.

I have frequently washed for gold in the most likely spots among the deep holes of ravines, where the torrents have worn away the bed, but I have found no sign of either precious stones or metals. Magnetic iron ore in large quantities is the only metal to be discovered in the river beds.

On 13th November, at sunrise, Lieutenant Baker started with the troops to convey corn from a distant village. I was sitting on the poop-deck of the diahbeeah, enjoying a pipe and a cup of coffee, when he suddenly galloped back with the news that a herd of bull elephants was approaching from the west. I was not prepared for elephant-shooting, and I recommended him to return to the troops, who would

otherwise waste their time. I had no suspicion that elephants would approach our position after having been disturbed by the soldiers, in a country that was perfectly open.

Lieutenant Baker cantered back to his men, while I commenced to write up my journal according to my daily custom.

In about a quarter of an hour, the sentry reported a herd of elephants. All my people clambered up upon the googoos and huts to obtain a good view of the herd, which from the high poop-deck of the diahbeeah we could see distinctly.

There were eleven bulls, and they were marching in close order along the bank of the river, approaching us at about 400 yards' distance.

I should have thought it almost as likely to meet a herd of elephants in Hyde Park as to find them in this open and thickly-populated country. I now distinguished natives along the distant heights, all of whom were attracted by the uncommon occurrence.

In the meantime the elephants approached, swinging their trunks and huge ears to and fro, apparently unconscious of the presence of the vessels and people.

I always kept my guns and ammunition in beautiful order, arranged on a rack in the cabin. On the left-hand side were the shot guns, *i.e.*,

two breechloading No. 12; four muzzleloading No. 10. On the right, the rifles: the little "Dutchman," two breechloading Reilly No. 8, two muzzleloading Holland half-pounders, that carried an iron lead-coated explosive shell, containing a bursting charge of half an ounce of fine grain powder. These two elephant rifles were very hard hitters, and carried twelve drachms of powder. The ammunition for the rifles was on a shelf that formed the rack, contained in a small bag with a simple re-load, and a large bag with a considerable supply. The small bag was intended for the deck, should I call suddenly for a rifle.

Seeing that the elephants were so near, I at once ordered my horse, "Greedy Grey," to be saddled, and the rifles and ammunition to be sent after me. My servant, Suleiman, who had started with me from Alexandria, was an honest, good creature, but so exceedingly nervous that he was physically useless in any sudden emergency. The climate of the marshes during our long voyage had so affected his nervous system, that any alarm or start would set him trembling to such an extent, that his teeth chattered as though he had been bathing in iced water. However, there was no time to lose, as I expected that should the elephants observe our

vessels, and the troops in their scarlet uniform, they would immediately wheel round and be off, at the pace which an African elephant knows so well how to use.

I quickly mounted "Greedy Grey" and told Suleiman to send on my rifles directly, with ammunition.

I ordered my men to run up the heights, and to come down at about 200 paces in the rear of the elephants, where they were to form a line as though in skirmishing order. This line of red shirts would most probably check the elephants from rushing back. My men had orders to fire at the elephants, and to endeavour to turn them should they attempt a retreat.

I was now on "Greedy Grey;" the sloping ground was as clean as a race-course, I therefore galloped up the slope so as to keep above the elephants The horse flew along at full speed. At this moment, a chorus of shouts from great numbers of natives who had collected on the east bank of the river was raised in admiration of the white horse, which they probably thought would in some manner seize the elephants.

In a very few seconds I reined up on the slope, about a hundred yards above the herd, which had

now halted close to the river's bank. They regarded the horse with some curiosity, and massed themselves together.

In the meantime, my "Forty," who were capital runners, were moving rapidly along the heights, and they presently came down, and formed in a long, open line from the edge of the river up the slope. During this operation, the elephants only moved their ears and trunks, but remained in the same position. They were now completely surrounded; the diahbeeah and my people were in their front, I was above them on one flank, and the servants were coming up with the rifles. In their rear was a line of about twenty soldiers, and on the other flank was the deep river about 110 yards wide from the mainland to the island.

Just as the rifles were within a few yards of me and I was preparing to dismount, the elephants wheeled suddenly round, and took to water.

They had been standing in a low, swampy spot that was frequently overflowed: thus they had no difficulty in descending to the river. Close to this place, the banks were perpendicular, and as hard as brick.

I ran down to the river, but by the time of my

arrival, the elephants had gained the opposite bank; there, however, they were in a difficulty. The water was deep, and the shore of the island was perpendicular, and about six feet above the water. They could not get out without breaking down the bank so as to form an incline. Already these enormous creatures, which are accustomed to such difficulties, were tearing down the earth with their tusks and horny-toed feet; still it was a work of time, that gave me a good opportunity.

It was difficult to obtain a shot, as the elephants were end on. The distance was about 110 yards, which is very uncertain for so large an animal, that must be struck exactly in the right place.

I fired several shots with the No. 8 breechloader, aimed at the back of their heads, but none of these were successful.

Monsoor had the ammunition, and reloaded for me. The stunning effect of the heavy metal confused the animals and caused one to fall backward into the scrambling herd. This turned an elephant sideways. The bank had already given way and had fallen in large masses into the water, which reduced the depth. The elephants, which had now gained a muddy footing, ploughed and tore down the yielding earth with redoubled vigour, as my

men in great excitement opened a hot fire upon them with the snider rifles. These had about as much effect as though they had been pelted with stones.

Presently, as the depth was lessened by the falling bank, the elephants showed more body above the surface. The splashing and scrambling was extraordinary; at length a large bull half ascended the bank, and for a moment exposed his flank; I fired a quick right and left shot with a Reilly No. 8 behind his shoulder, and he fell backwards into the river, where he commenced a series of wild struggles that brought him within twenty yards of me, and I sent a ball into his head which killed him. The powerful stream at once carried away the floating carcase.

The bank had now completely given way, and an elephant was nearly on the summit. I fired at him with one of the Holland half-pounders, which by the recoil flew out of my hands for a distance of several yards; this was loaded with twelve drachms of fine-grain powder. The elephant fell on his knees on the steep incline, and was bagged to all intents and purposes, but believing that I had plenty of ammunition at hand, I fired another half-pounder into his shoulder, which killed

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him on the spot, and he rolled into the water, and the current took him away.

I immediately sent a man to order boats, with ropes and axes to follow the carcases.

In the meantime I fired my last No. 8 into the shoulder of an elephant that had just climbed the bank and gained the island. I now had a glorious opportunity of a shoulder shot at every animal as it should ascend the steep incline.

My ammunition was exhausted! My servant, Suleiman, had sent the little bag that contained only one reload for the breechloaders, and no powder-flask or shells for the half-pounders. I had now the annoyance of witnessing the difficult ascent of the elephants in single file, exposing their flanks in succession to the shoulder-shot, while I remained a helpless looker-on.

I had thus bagged only two out of eleven, but these were killed at very long shots (about 110 yards).

The half-pounder rifles were the same calibre and pattern as that described in "The Nile Tributaries of Abyssinia" as "the Baby." These were made by Mr. Holland of Bond Street, and are the most overpowering rifles I ever used. They were certain to kill the elephant, and to half kill the man who fired them, with twelve drachms of fine-grain powder. I was tolerably strong, therefore I was never killed outright; but an

Arab hunter had his collar-bone smashed by the recoil, when the rifle was loaded with simple coarse-grain powder. If he had used fine-grain, I should hardly have insured his life.

The elephants having gained the island, remained some time exposed, before they made up their minds to cross to the other side. Unfortunately, the boats had followed the carcases of the elephants down the river, which were two miles distant before they could be secured; therefore we had no means of reaching the island. Our vessels could not have crossed, as there were many rocks below stream.

I therefore took a few shots with Hale's rockets, one of which just grazed the rump of an elephant, and sent them off in great astonishment. We then tried a few shots with the fieldpiece, but the gun made bad practice, and the shells exploded very wildly, and not according to the distances regulated by the fusees.

The specific gravity of the elephant differs considerably from that of the hippopotamus. The latter animal invariably sinks when killed, and the body rises to the surface in about two hours, when the gas has distended the stomach. The body of an elephant floats on the surface immediately that it is killed, and is capable of supporting one or more persons. The cavity of the carcase is much larger in the elephant

than in the hippopotamus; the latter is a dense mass of flesh, covered by an exceedingly thick and heavy skin, the specific gravity of which is considerably greater than water.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### MORAL RESULTS OF THE HUNT.

THE moral result of the elephant hunt was very satisfactory, at the same time most unexpected.

The sound of cannon had been heard by the natives for many miles; this had awakened their curiosity, and numbers had sped from the surrounding heights and satisfied themselves that several elephants had been killed. The natives of Beddēn flocked to our little camp in hundreds, and were delighted at receiving permission to take as much elephant's flesh as they required. They raced along the bank for a couple of miles to the spot where the two elephants had been secured by my people, and towed upon a sand-bank.

I had sent down a noggur to make sure of the heads, as the opportunity of obtaining entire skulls seldom offered. These two heads had now been

brought safely to camp, and the natives were employed in cleaning every atom of flesh from the bone.

In the meantime, great numbers of our enemies were to be seen squatting upon the heights, watching the happier Baris of Beddēn, who had congregated like vultures in the river, and were quarrelling and scrambling over the immense carcases of the elephants. The temptation was too great to withstand. Who could resist flesh? The mouths of our enemies were watering, as they watched the heavy loads of red meat carried upon the heads of the rival Baris. In the afternoon, a messenger hailed the sentry to say that one of the sheiks wished to present himself to me to crave a cessation of hostilities. Shortly after the disappearance of this man with a courteous answer, a batch of messengers arrived to beg that their chief might be received, as they all desired peace.

On the following morning I held a general levee. About twenty headmen, or sheiks of principal villages, attended by many of their people, came to present themselves, and to sue for peace. I received the chiefs on my diahbeeah, and each received a present of a long blue shirt as he stepped on board. They now seated themselves by Beddēn, and a general explanation took place.

I assured them of my regret that they had forced me into war, as my mission to the country had been one of peace; at the same time they must have seen how impossible it was to resist the troops who were armed with weapons of precision, and drilled in a manner very different from the companies of slave-hunters.

I told them that I had many thousand cattle, and that had they agreed to sell me the corn that was absolutely needed for the troops, I should have paid for it punctually with cows, as I had promised them when I first entered their district. I also explained that, as they must have observed, I had never taken a single head of cattle from them, although I had frequently heard the lowing of their oxen. I had adopted this conduct, although in actual war, merely to impress upon them the fact that they might depend upon my word. I had offered to exchange my cattle for their corn; thus had I taken their cattle, they might have disbelieved my sincerity.

They replied, that "it must be expected that little differences would occur at the beginning." They had been incited against us by the Baris of Belinian, and the war was entirely their own fault. At the same time they laughed, and said that

"hunger was a very bad thing, and that hungry men would always fill their stomachs, if they could, therefore we had been quite right to take their corn." They declared that it did not in the least matter, as the islands were very fertile, and would produce another crop very quickly; in the meantime they had a good supply concealed, and their loss only necessitated a little extra labour.

They continued this peaceable conversation by saying, that "the elephants were seldom seen in this district, and that the Baris did not understand such hunting, but they had heard the cannons, and they knew that we should be able to kill them." The meeting concluded by a request for meat; and the sheiks having given instructions to certain messengers, despatched them to summon their people to the sand-bank, where the remains of the elephants were lying.

In a short time, swarms of natives, lately our enemies, were collecting from all quarters, and hurrying towards the attractive spot, as though they were going to a fair.

I gave the headmen[1] a present of beads, and took

[1] The superior chief was presented with a costume which delighted him. This was a long blue shirt with red waist-band, a bright tin funnel inverted to form a helmet with a feather in the

them to admire themselves in the large glass within the cabin of the diahbeeah. I scrambled some pounds of beads among their people, and got up foot-races for prizes.

The natives selected some of their best runners; but although they ran well, they were all beaten by Ali Nedjār of the "Forty Thieves," who was the champion runner of the expedition.

The sheiks requested that the cannon might be fired for their amusement. A shot with blank cartridge made them look very serious. They then went to look at the two elephants' heads, which they believed had been blown off by the cannon on the day of the hunt.

They returned to the diahbeeah, and ordered their people to bring the present they had prepared for me. This consisted of thirty-one jars of merissa, each of which was duly tasted by themselves as a proof of the absence of poison.

Before they departed, I was assured, not only of their regret that any misunderstanding should have taken place, but that after their bean crop, which would be in about two months, they would unite with Beddēn and carry all my baggage into the

tube, and a pair of spectacles. He declared that he would be "the admiration of the women."

interior. They took leave and went off in the direction of the dead elephants.

. . . . . .

Here was a sudden change in the politics of the country! Peace had been effected by the sacrifice of two elephants!

This peace was the result of greediness and envy. The natives had pined for the flesh, and envied the Baris of Beddēn who were carrying it away; therefore they sued for peace.

At the same time, they had originally declined my offer of a large herd of cattle that would have been worth a hundred elephants. Thus they had courted war, in which they had lost some of their people, together with much corn, all of which they might have sold for cows; and they now desired peace, only to join in the scramble, like vultures, over the flesh of two elephants.

African negroes are incomprehensible people, and they cannot be judged by the ordinary rules of human nature. It was easy to understand, that if they desired peace upon so frivolous a pretext, they would plunge into war with the same frivolity—with a "*cœur léger.*"

As each division of the district quickly followed the example of another in desiring peace, in like

manner would they follow an evil example in provoking hostilities.

They had now professed friendship for the sake of a few steaks. They had promised to carry our baggage into the interior. If they would only be true to this offer, I should be able to transport the steamer, as the natives could easily drag the two-wheeled carts. Although I doubted their professions, I had some secret hopes of success, and I resolved to do all in my power to establish confidence. I therefore invited two very intelligent natives to pay me a visit, and to reside some time at Gondokoro, where they would witness the general management of the station, and see the workshops, &c. They would also see the vast herds of cattle belonging to the government, the spoil of the Bari war. This would be a sight most interesting to the eyes of Baris, as it would be a lesson of the great power of the government to either punish or reward.

In the afternoon I was visited by other native headmen from the east side of the Nile. These people had swum the river, and had followed the example of the other natives to sue for peace, and to beg for elephant's flesh.

This extraordinary craving for flesh would suggest that the Baris were devoid of cattle. On the contrary,

there are countless herds throughout the country; but the natives have a great objection to kill them, and merely keep the cows for their milk, and the bullocks to bleed.

The cows are also bled periodically, and the blood is boiled and eaten, much in the same manner that black pudding is used throughout Europe. A herd of cattle will thus provide animal food without the necessity of slaughtering.

The great traveller, Bruce, was discredited for having described a fact of which he was an eye-witness. This was the vivisection of a cow, driven by natives, who cut a steak out of her hind-quarters.

I had a bull with a very large hump. This animal was very handsome, and was kept for stock. I observed that the skin of the hump showed a long jagged scar from end to end, and my people assured me that this bull had frequently been operated upon. It had been the property of one of the slave-hunter's parties, and they had been in the habit of removing the hump (as a surgeon would a tumour). This is the most delicate portion of the meat, and I was assured that the hump would always be replaced by a similar growth after each operation.[1]

On 18th November, I commenced the march

[1] This bull was left at Fort Fatiko.

homewards. The natives were now friendly throughout the route, and my men were strictly forbidden to enter a village. There was a great change in my officers and troops; they had fallen into my ways and obeyed every order with alacrity. They had learned to place thorough reliance upon any plans that were arranged; and, now that they knew the necessity of obedience and discipline, they had, imperceptibly to themselves, changed from ruffians into very orderly soldiers.

On the march homewards, upon arrival at the foot of a mountain, I made an excursion inland, as this was a portion of the country that I had not yet visited, though only six miles from Gondokoro. The natives were very shy, but I at length succeeded in obtaining an interview with their sheik, a tall powerful fellow, named Meri. I explained that I required no corn, nor any supplies, except stone.[1]

The country abounded with pieces of gneiss with a very straight cleavage, that suited them admirably for building purposes. All the granaries of this country were supported upon pillars formed of single stones, about three feet long. The houses were also protected by large flat stones arranged

[1] This sheik Meri and his people always remained faithful to the government from that day.

like tiles around the base, and thus securing the sides from the driven storms of rain.

On 19th November, I returned to Gondokoro highly satisfied with the result of the campaign. Not only were my magazines all filled with more than twelve months' supply of corn, but I had established peace throughout a large and powerful district, and I had received promises of assistance, and an assurance of allegiance to the government.

Abou Saood, who had received permission to go to Khartoum, had only gone down the river as far as his station at the Bohr. There he had made arrangements with his people that the ivory from Latooka station, 100 miles east of Gondokoro, should avoid my head-quarters, and be conveyed by an oblique course to the Bohr. By this swindle, the government would be cheated out of the share of two-fifths of the ivory which belonged to them by contract with Agād & Co.

Abou Saood having personally witnessed the departure of the troops to Khartoum, considered his game as won, and that the expedition, now reduced to only 502 officers and men, would be compelled to centralise at Gondokoro, without the possibility of penetrating the interior. He had thus started for his stations in the distant south,

where he intended to incite the natives against the government, to prevent me from following out my plans with the small force at my disposal.

This was the first time in the career of Abou Saood that he had ever travelled inland. He had for many years been in the habit of arriving at Gondokoro from Khartoum with the annual vessels from Agād & Co., bringing new levies of brigands together with fresh supplies of arms and ammunition. He then remained at Gondokoro for several weeks, and received the ivory and slaves collected from his various stations in the interior, with which he returned to Khartoum.

The necessity of the occasion induced him to use much personal activity. Knowing well the date when my term of service would expire, he had only one object, in which he had already nearly succeeded,—this was to prevent the possibility of my advance within the given period.

It was therefore necessary for him to visit his stations, and to warn his people to hold both their slaves and ivory until I should be withdrawn from Gondokoro by the expiration of my term of service; after which, he had no doubt that things would quickly return to their former happy state. By these means he would be able to cheat the government

out of the two-fifths of all ivory; he would preserve his slaves; and a judicious present to some high official would reinstate him in his original position as the greatest slave-hunter of the White Nile; with the additional *kudos* of having baffled the Christian Pacha.

I had already written to assure the Khedive that, should my work not be satisfactorily accomplished at the expiration of my term of service, I should continue at my post until I could honourably resign the command, when the government should be firmly established in the interior.

I now devoted every energy to the preparations for starting, together with the English engineers and the steamer. Having given the necessary instructions to the engineer in chief, Mr. Higginbotham, I had no anxiety, as I felt sure that everything would be in order.

The carts were to be thoroughly examined, and the No. 3 steamer of 38 tons was to be divided in parcels; the small work secured in loads of fifty pounds, each sewn up in raw hide, and the heavier portions divided among the carts.

The officers were now perfectly resigned to their lot. The remnant of the Egyptian force had been converted into artillerymen, and all the Soudanis formed one regiment.

While Mr. Higginbotham was engaged in the work of arranging and packing, my masons were busy in the manufacture of bricks, as I wished eventually to build the barracks of this solid material, instead of trusting to the dangerously inflammable straw-huts. I had already written to England for sufficient galvanized iron for 3,000 feet of building in actual length.

Although galvanized iron is hot in a tropical climate, it can easily be protected from the sun by a light framework of canes slightly thatched. My Soudanis were never overpowered by heat, as they had been born in a high temperature.

Before I started for the interior, it was necessary to give the Shir a reprimand for the massacre of my unfortunate soldiers who had been left in charge of the cultivation. I accordingly organised an expedition, and in the course of a fortnight I gave them a severe lesson. The military details of this expedition would merely be a repetition of savage warfare that would be unnecessary.[1]

[1] At this time the Shir, who are actually Baris, were hostile throughout the whole southern portion of the tribe as far as the mountain Lardo, which joined Allorron's territory. I had no time to penetrate sufficiently far to recover the guns and accoutrements of my lost detachment, but the demonstration that was made against them had the desired effect, and Niambore was left unmolested.

During the journey to the Shir, a hippopotamus suddenly attacked the dingy as it was towing astern of the diahbeeah, and, with a blow from beneath, he completely capsized it, and drowned the sheep which were the only occupants. The boat was subsequently recovered, and the hole in the bottom was repaired, but the hippopotamus escaped.

On my return to Gondokoro, I found that Meri's natives had collected a large quantity of stones, and they had sent to request a vessel to transport them. I gave them a cow, and they had a general dance. This reception seemed to delight them, and they returned to their villages, accompanied by a noggur with an officer and twenty men. I gave strict orders that no soldier should enter a native hut under any pretext.

The Bari war was over. Upon every side the natives had been thoroughly subdued. The fear of the horses and the snider rifles had spread throughout the country. It was reported that no herds of cattle could possibly escape the horses, and that we could fire from their backs at full speed, thus nothing could withstand them. The snider rifles were believed to be "cojoor," or magic. The helmet-shaped caps worn by Lieutenant Baker and myself were also considered to be "cojoor." I now heard from our Bari interpreters, Sheroom and Morgiān, that the Sheik Allorron was willing to sue for peace, and to declare his allegiance to the government.

Abou Saood and his people had departed; thus the evil spirit was withdrawn that had hitherto covertly incited the natives against the government, and the effect of his absence was immediately apparent.

I now devoted my attention to the final preparations for the start, and to the necessary instructions for the command of the station during my absence. The officers found that it was now impossible to resist their destiny; and Raouf Bey, the colonel, who had, against orders, sent off so many troops to Khartoum who were in good health, now discovered that he would be left with a comparatively small force to hold the important position at headquarters.

The troops who had been employed under my personal command, were very anxious to accompany me into the equatorial district.

There was no more fighting. All my hopes of peace were at length realised. The nights were always undisturbed, and the sentries might have indulged in sleep without the slightest danger. A dead calm had succeeded to the excitement of constant watchfulness.

I now employed the "Forty Thieves" in making salt. There were peculiar surface mines within a mile of my little station. These were situated upon a sandy loam on the banks of a brackish lake, that swarmed with crocodiles.

The salt always showed upon the surface after a shower of rain had been evaporated by the sun. This

efflorescence, together with sand and other impurities, was scraped from the earth with large mussel shells. It was then placed in earthenware vessels containing about five gallons. These were pierced with holes in the bottom, which were covered with a wisp of straw as a strainer. The jars, being full of salt and sand, were watered occasionally, and the brine accordingly filtered through to a receiver. The contents were boiled, and produced the finest chloride of sodium.

The natural productions of the neighbourhood were salt, iron, tamarinds, the oil-nut tree; and the cultivation of the natives was principally *Hibiscus* hemp, tobacco, varieties of beans, sesamé, dhurra, and dochan (millet). I endeavoured to persuade the Baris to cultivate and prepare large quantities of the *Hibiscus* hemp, which would be extremely valuable in the Soudan. The Baris used it for nets and fishing-lines.

The tamarinds were of two varieties, and were produced in extraordinary quantities. About two miles from head-quarters, there was an extensive portion of the forest composed almost exclusively of these magnificent trees.

The forest was also rich in the tree known by the Arabs as "hēglik." This bears a fruit about the size

of a date (lalobe), which is a combination of sweet, bitter, and highly aromatic. My men collected several hundredweight, as I wished to try an experiment in distilling. There was an excellent copper still in the magazine, and I succeeded in producing a delicious spirit somewhat resembling kirschenwasser.

My cotton was now ripe, and I cleaned it with a small hand gin that could be worked by two men. This greatly interested the Bari visitors, who, by my special invitation, had been residing for some time at Gondokoro.

The dry season had been very unfavourable for cotton; nevertheless, the quality was good, and proved that it would thrive in the locality. The species that was indigenous grew to a great size, and seemed to defy the drought. This bore a red blossom, and the pod was small. The native cotton was of short staple, and adhered strongly to the seed.

On 29th November, two Arabs arrived from Abou Saood's Latooka station, 100 miles east of Gondokoro: they had travelled at night, and were deserters from the vakeel. One of these fellows turned out to be my old follower during my former journey, Mohammed the camel-driver, and he literally cried with joy when he saw my wife and me again. He gave me all the

news from the slave-traders' camp, which was full of slaves, and they were afraid that I might arrive, as they were aware that I knew the road. The vakeel of Latooka had received and harboured two of my Egyptian soldiers, who had deserted from Gondokoro and joined the slave-hunters under the guidance of a Bari.

On 1st December, Lieutenant Baker shot a fine bull elephant, with very large tusks; this was within four miles of head-quarters. At this season they were very numerous in the neighbourhood of Gondokoro During my absence to the south of Regiāf, there had been a curious nocturnal alarm in the station.

Upon a fine moonlight night the sentries were astonished by the appearance of two immense bull elephants, that, having marched along the cliff, took the fort in the rear on the river side.

The fort was a redan, open at the river base; thus, unheeding the sentry, the elephants coolly walked into the centre. The sentry's musket was immediately responded to by the guard; the buglers, startled by a sharp fire of musketry, blew the alarm.

The elephants, now alarmed in their turn, rushed onwards, but upon ascending the earthwork, they were met by a deep yawning ditch, which they could not cross. The whole force turned out, and the at-

tack on the thick-skinned intruders became general. The bullets flew so wildly that it was more dangerous for bystanders than for the elephants.

In the meanwhile, the panic-stricken animals charged wildly in all directions, but were invariably stopped by the ditch and rampart, until at last they happened to find the right direction, and retreated by their original entrance, most probably not much the worse for the adventure.

Mr. Higginbotham, who gave me this account, described the excitement of the troops as so intense, that they let their muskets off completely at random: and so thick were the bullets in his direction, that he was obliged to take shelter behind a white-ant hill.

I had no time to devote to elephant-shooting, otherwise I might have killed a considerable number in the neighbourhood of Gondokoro. The Baris are not good hunters, and they merely catch the elephants in pitfalls; therefore, being free from attack, these animals are exceedingly daring, and are easy to approach.

They are generally attracted by the ripe lalobes, the fruit already described of the hēglik (*Balanites Egyptiaca*). The trees, if of medium size, are frequently torn down for the sake of this small produc-

A BULL ELEPHANT SHAKES DOWN THE FRUIT.

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tion, that would appear too insignificant for the notice of so huge an animal.

I once had an opportunity of witnessing an elephant's strength exerted in his search for this small fruit. I was in the Shir country, and one evening, accompanied by Lieutenant Baker, I strolled into the forest, about half a mile from our vessels, to watch for waterbuck (*Redunca Ellipsiprymna*) in a small glade where I had shot one on the previous evening.

We had not long been concealed, when I heard a peculiar noise in the thick forest that denoted the approach of elephants.

We at once retreated to some rising ground about 150 paces distant, as our small rifles would have been useless against such heavy game. In a short time several elephants appeared from various portions of the covert, and one of extraordinary size moved slowly towards us, until he halted beneath a tall, spreading hēglik. This tree must have been nearly three feet in diameter, and was about thirty feet high from the ground to the first branch; it was therefore impossible for the elephant to gather the coveted fruit. To root up such a tree would have been out of the question. The elephant paused for a short time, as though considering; he then butted his forehead suddenly against the trunk. I could not

have believed the effect: this large tree, which was equal in appearance to the average size of park-timber, quivered in every branch to such a degree, that had a person taken refuge from an elephant, and thought himself secure in the top, he would have found it difficult to hold on.

When the lalobes fall, they must be picked up individually; and although the trouble appears disproportioned to the value of the fruit, there is no food so much coveted by elephants.

Near this spot, on the following day, I had a close adventure with a hippopotamus. I had gone to the same place where I had seen the elephants, and I was returning through the forest within a few yards of the river margin, when, upon suddenly turning round a dense thorn-bush, I came within four or five paces of a large bull hippopotamus. This animal had left the river for an evening ramble on the shore, and was munching some succulent grass with such gusto that he had not heard my approach. Unfortunately, I had come upon him exactly at right angles, which restricted my shot to the temple. This is the most difficult of penetration in the hippopotamus.

I only had the "Dutchman," and my attendant Monsoor carried a snider rifle; thus we were badly armed for so impenetrable a beast. I fired just in

front of the ear, certainly within fifteen feet. The only effect produced was a shake of his head, and he appeared rather stupid, as though stunned. The left-hand barrel followed quickly upon the right. Monsoor fired with his snider. The "Dutchman," being a breechloader, was ready again, and we fired into this stupid-looking brute as though he had been a target, and with about the same effect.

Suddenly, as though we had just awakened him, he turned round and bolted into a dense mass of thorns, about thirty paces before us.

In the meantime, the troops at the vessels, that were within about 300 paces, having heard the rapid and continued firing, supposed that I had been attacked by the natives. The "Forty Thieves" rushed to the rescue. I heard the bugle, and presently the voices of the men as they approached, running through the bush at full speed. The hippopotamus had moved from his thorny retreat, and was walking slowly forward, when he was stumbled against by "The Forty," some of whom literally ran against him.

The animal appeared quite stunned and stupid, and he merely stood and stared at his new assailants. The sight was perfectly ridiculous. Every rifle was fired into him; but the hollow bullets of the sniders

had no penetration, and we might as well have peppered the stone bulls of Nineveh, in the British Museum. At length, after having been the centre of a blaze of fireworks, as every man did his best to kill him during a space of about a minute, he coolly approached the edge of the cliff, which was quite perpendicular and about eighteen feet high.

A tremendous splash was the end of the encounter, as the hippo committed himself to the deep, with a clumsy jump from the midst of the disappointed soldiers.

I was constantly annoyed by the want of penetration of the Boxer hollow bullets. The "Dutchman" carried three drachms of No. 6-grain powder, which should have driven a solid bullet through a large antelope; but the hollow Boxer projectile invariably disappeared in small fragments upon striking a bone; or it expanded, and had no further penetrating power after striking a thick hide.

The sniders, although admirable military weapons, possessed a very small power of penetration. I have frequently seen the bodies of natives with only one bullet-mark; and I have extracted bullets that ought to have passed completely through.

My "Forty Thieves" were now proud of themselves as experienced in various sports, and they were

terribly disgusted at the escape of the hippopotamus. They were never idle for a single day. If no other work was on hand, I practised them at the target, or they were treated to a few hours' drill.

Sometimes I took them fishing: this was always a great amusement, as the expedition was well furnished with nets.

There was a small lake near my station that abounded in fish. One of my sailors belonging to the diahbeeah was a professional fisherman, descended from a race of this calling. I had therefore intrusted him with the charge of the nets. All the sailors of the diahbeeah were good men, but the fisherman, Howarti, was the best of the picked crew. He was a Nubian, born in Khartoum, and of an exceedingly light colour. His style of beauty was rather spoiled by the loss of one eye, and altogether his personal appearance was not attractive; but he was very strong, although a small man, and in any case of emergency he was the most active and intelligent sailor. Howarti was always the first man to leap overboard with the tow rope, when it became necessary to drag the vessel against wind and stream: he was, like all Nubians, an admirable swimmer.

Our comfort had depended much upon this man throughout the expedition, as he was the only person

who could properly throw a casting-net. Thus he had always supplied us with excellent fish. I often admired his perseverance, when, after twenty or thirty barren casts, he rested for a while, cleaned his net, and waded, in spite of crocodiles, to seek a more likely spot to catch fish for breakfast, at a time when this meal would depend entirely upon his success: At such times I frequently advised him as a good Mohammedan to say "Bismillah" (in the name of God) before he threw the net. On the first occasion, before I gave him this advice, he had had extremely bad luck, and he told me that "something was wrong with the fish;" as he had thrown his net for an hour without catching anything except a few uneatable spike-fish.

I advised him to come with me in the dingy; and having rowed a short distance, we arrived at a sand-bank in the bend of the river. Here we landed, and I found fault with Howarti for omitting to say "Bismillah!"

"Will it do any good?" asked the profane Howarti. "Try," I replied; "you know the opinion of Mohammedans; now then, Howarti, say 'Bismillah,' and throw just in that hole close to the weeds. Spin your net so that it shall fall perfectly round, and advance very quietly to the edge, so that your shadow shall not disturb the fish."

"Bismillah!" ejaculated Howarti, and he crept cautiously forward to a very likely-looking hole. "Bismillah!" and with a dexterous throw, the net described an exact circle as it fell evenly upon the water.

No sooner had the fisherman commenced to tighten the crown line, when the rapid and powerful jerks showed that he had something good within his net.

"Now, Howarti, look sharp! the bottom is clean sand: haul away, and don't give them time to burrow beneath the leads."

Howarti hauled away, and as the net came near the shore, there was such a splashing and jumping as he had rarely seen. The net came in upon the clean sand-bank, and we counted upwards of forty fine boulti, several of about four pounds, and the smallest about half a pound weight.

Howarti, having counted his fish, exclaimed, piously, "El hambd-el-Illah!" and added: "In future I shall always say 'Bismillah!'"

Howarti cleaned his net: the fish were placed in a basket, and were covered with some river-weed to keep them fresh.

Once more the fisherman arranged his net upon his arm, and cautiously approached a most inviting

little nook, where some large lotus leaves floating on the surface denoted a medium depth.

"Now then, Howarti, throw very carefully, so as to spread your net in that open space among the lilies, and take care to avoid the leaf stems that would lift the leads."

"Bismillah!" away flew the net, which fell in a circle, exactly in the spot desired.

It was amusing to watch the usually stolid countenance of Howarti, that was now expressive of intense curiosity.

The crown-line jerked and tugged even more than at the first lucky throw. Howarti cleverly and cautiously landed his net. It contained a regular "miraculous draught," including a Nile carp of about nine pounds.

"That will do, Howarti," I exclaimed; "we have fish enough for all the people on the diahbeeah, as well as for the officers of 'The Forty.'" The basket would not contain them; therefore the larger fish were laid upon grass in the bottom of the boat, and we returned home.

Howarti now divided the fish according to orders, and explained to the delighted crowd the extraordinary effect of the word "Bismillah," which insured a netful at every cast.

On the following morning, at sunrise, the now pious Howarti went out as usual with his casting-net accompanied by a sailor, who carried the largest basket he could procure.

We had moved our position, and there was no sand-bank in the neighbourhood.

After an absence of about two hours, Howarti returned, together with his companion and the large basket. This contained a few small fish hardly sufficient for our breakfast.

"Ah, Howarti!" I exclaimed, "you are a bad Mussulman—you have forgotten to say 'Bismillah.'"

"Indeed," replied the dejected fisherman, "I repeated 'Bismillah' at every cast; but it's of no use saying 'Bismillah' in *deep* water; nothing will catch them in the deep, and I can catch them without 'Bismillah' in the shallows."

Howarti was *not* a fanatical Mohammedan. Poor fellow! he never lived to return with us to Khartoum: his melancholy death will be described hereafter.

In fishing in the lake at Gondokoro Howarti had the usual charge of the proceedings. We dragged a boat across the neck of land from the river, and having launched it, we first laid a stop-net 140 yards in length along the bank of bulrushes that grew in water about five feet deep; this was to stop the fish

from running into the rushes on the advance of the drag-net.

We now dragged a portion of the lake towards the stop-net, intending to land it upon an incline where the water was extremely shallow.

The "Forty Thieves" hauled away steadily enough until the net came close in. At that moment several immense fish dashed about within the narrowed inclosure; these created such excitement, that the men rushed into the water to secure them, which ended in the escape of the greater portion of the fish.

The next haul was very successful, and after fishing for about two hours, we caught 434 fine fish, one of which weighed 40lbs. and another 26lbs. I sent 200 to head-quarters for the troops.

The greater number of these fish were boulti and baggera, both of which are species of perch, and are delicious eating. I have never caught a boulti larger than five pounds, but the baggera grows to an immense size, and I have seen them about 150lbs. or more. I once weighed a baggera upwards of 130lbs., but they are said to attain a weight of several hundreds.

I have formerly described the beauty of this salmon-coloured fish in "The Nile Tributaries of Abyssinia."

It is well known that in all countries the same species of fish differs in flavour and quality according to the water in which it is caught; thus the boulti and baggera are almost worthless in the lower Nile, compared with the same fish of the upper river.

Travellers may often unjustly condemn a fish as worthless, because it may have been out of season when they had the opportunity of eating it.

I never tasted any fresh-water fish superior to a boulti, slightly salted, and smoked for twelve or eighteen hours.

In hot climates all fish should be split down the back, and then laid open; they should then be salted and should lie for a few hours to drain; after which, they should be hung over the smoke of a dry-wood fire. This treatment renders them delicious for immediate use, but if required to keep, they must be smoked for a couple of days, and then be highly dried in the sun.

. . . . . .

The 14th December was the Mohammedan holiday called the "Ume el Ete," on which day every person, however poor he or she may be, is supposed to dress in new clothes.

We had now been upwards of twelve months without communication with Khartoum. The soldiers' clothes were reduced to rags, as they had suffered much from hard work and fighting in thorny bush. The whole force was in despair: they were in arrears of pay, they were without clothes; the festival was close at hand, and instead of turning out in finery, they would be dirty, dingy, and ragged.

Every one was downcast. The troops could not possibly start with me to the interior, to represent the government in a state of rags or nudity.

On 13th December, the day preceding the festival, I summoned the officers to the magazine, in which I fortunately had all that could be required. The merchandize and general stores that I had purchased in England had no connection with the army clothing and stores which should have been supplied for the troops from Khartoum. This supply had been impossible owing to the state of the river.

I served out new clothing for the entire expedition. I arranged that 212 officers and men should accompany me to the interior. To these I gave scarlet flannel shirts and white trousers. The officers received all that they required, and the men were allowed to purchase from the government stores any

articles that they considered necessary for themselves or their wives.[1]

On 14th December the cannons fired at sunrise to proclaim the holiday. I rode up to head-quarters and inspected the troops on parade, all in their new uniforms. Every man was in a good humour, and they burst out into three cheers as I completed the inspection and addressed a few words to them.

The men's wives were decked out with gaudy colours, and were happy in proportion to the amount of red and yellow.

The troops and sailors were astonished at the unfailing contents of the magazines, which established confidence that should we be positively cut off from all communication with Khartoum, we were nevertheless independent of supplies.

Everything was in order in Gondokoro. The natives were at peace; food was abundant; the station securely fortified.

I now determined to penetrate into the south, and to carry a steamer in sections to N. lat. 3° 32′, where she would be constructed by the Englishmen, and launched on the navigable river above the last cata-

[1] There was no cash at Gondokoro; thus in the absence of pay, the troops were contented with the supplies from the magazine, which furnished all their wants.

racts, to open the communication with the Albert Nyanza.

All intrigues and opposition to the expedition had been overcome. Although my force was small, the men were full of confidence, and promised to follow wheresoever I might lead.

END OF VOL. I.

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